THE COMMONWEAL

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SHALL WE RECOGNIZE RUSSIA?

THAT part of the "new deal" of President Roosevelt's is to be the prompt recognition of Russia is being confidently predicted by many persons close—or thinking themselves close—to the inner circles of the administration. As several of these observers have stated the prevailing impression: "We may wake up to find Soviet recognition any morning now." Things now move swiftly at Washington. For good or for bad, there is action. Meanwhile, there is a tremendous cross-fire of opposing propaganda directed upon the White House and points in its vicinity. The Foreign Relations Committee and individual senators and congressmen are being bombarded with all the weapons of pressure politics—resolutions of organized groups, letters, telegrams, petitions, interviews—for and against the recognition of the Stalin régime.

Would such recognition really be beneficial to the United States and to the world? What considerations should—or actually do—motivate those who are working for or against recognition?

It may be worth while briefly to indicate some of the chief points of the controversy—although, if we are to believe the usually well-informed persons now discussing the matter, the question is an academic one. Recognition is assured, they affirm. But the decisions of Washington are not like the irreformable decisions of the Church in matters of faith and morals. It may be true that when Rome has spoken, the case is closed; but if Washington should recognize Moscow, that recognition may or may not be permanent. The arguments against recognition—to which this journal subscribes—may be useful in the future, even if made in vain just now. However, we do not, in any case, fully share the aggressive confidence of the pro-recognition spokesmen. They are acting—and perhaps too loudly talking—as if President Roosevelt's decision is a rubber-stamp sort of thing which they can use to confirm their own determination of the matter. We doubt very much that President Roosevelt has committed himself irrevocably. Therefore we will outline the position from our own point of view in the hope that our views may be of some use to our readers in the process of forming their own opinions on this momentous issue.

Two forms of "recognition," at least, seem to be followed by governments in their relations with new governments: recognition *de jure*, and recognition *de facto*.

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Recognition *de jure* is defined by a leading authority on international law—whose private memoranda we are following with confidence in his knowledge and his judgment—as "the act by which the government of a state indicates its desire to continue or to renew full diplomatic relations with a new government of another country and to accord to it thereby all the courtesies and rights which pertain to independent, equal nations."

Nations customarily accord recognition to a new government when the latter is known to be exercising complete power and has demonstrated that it is both able and disposed to observe loyally all the obligations of international law. "The recognizing state is not concerned with the manner in which the new government came into power or with the legality of its existence."

Recognition *de facto* is merely the acknowledgment of the simple fact that a new government exists without according full diplomatic relations or exchanging the courtesies and rights that go along with recognition *de jure*. Furthermore, recognition *de facto* may proceed, without crossing the line that separates it from recognition *de jure,* to the establishment of restricted official relations between minor officials, the maintenance of consular and commercial affairs, and the carrying on of trade and other relations between the nationals (citizens or subjects) of the two countries.

As matters now stand, no official relations whatever exist between the American and Russian governments. So far, the American government has refused to manifest to the Russian government the approbation implied by diplomatic and other official relations. Intercourse between the two countries is restricted merely to trade and other private relations between their respective nationals.

The great question now is whether sufficient reasons exist to justify the American government in changing its policy of non-recognition.

Those in favor of recognition say: "Of course there are such reasons. They should be imperative with people—and the government of a people—possessing common sense. Recognition does not imply either moral approval or disapproval. It merely restores decent and healthy order in an abnormal and potentially perilous set of relations between two great nations. The vast trade between the United States and Russia which ought to be proceeding cannot develop until or unless normal diplomatic channels are set up. Furthermore, not until Russia is formally and freely admitted into the family of nations by the United States can such important questions as world peace, disarmament, the Oriental question, and many others, be dealt with concretely and with some prospect of solving them by the peaceful methods of diplomacy and statescraft. If Russia should not behave itself in accordance with the obligations brought into force by material recognition by and of the United States, that would be deplorable, but the United States can break off such relations, if they will not work desirably, without resorting to war. Moreover, occasions for misunderstanding and those frictions which may lead to war are far more likely to occur as matters stand now than if recognition were granted."

On the other hand, we think that the reasons why recognition should not be granted are stronger, deeper and more permanently valid than the reasons urged in favor of that momentous decision. They may be summarized as follows:

"The Russian government is not disposed to respect the obligations of international law. On the contrary, it is absolutely opposed to the existing system of international law which it deems capitalistic and unworthy of respect. In other words, it does not recognize international law and therefore is not entitled to recognition under the very law it repudiates. Specifically, the Russian government flatly refuses to carry out the contractual engagements of the previous government of Russia.

"The Russian government is unable to fulfil all its international obligations because it has no judicial system or body of law to guarantee the protection of the contractual rights of foreigners, or their right to life and liberty. The normal guarantees essential to the carrying on of intercourse between the Russian and American peoples are practically non-existent.

"The Russian government is absolutely opposed to liberty of conscience and to the exercise of the right of religious worship. It is the relentless foe of all spiritual beliefs.

"The experience of other governments which have recognized the Russian government, notably of Great Britain and France, has demonstrated the difficulties and the unwisdom of diplomatic relations.

"Under these circumstances it would be illogical, stultifying, and shameful, for the United States to extend the right hand of fellowship to a government which aims to destroy the existing system of international relations, and to deny the guarantee of the legal protection of the rights of aliens to the enjoyment of the fruits of their labor, to the pursuit of their professions, and to liberty of private conscience."

What the American Committee on Religious Rights and Minorities said in their report made in 1930 is even more pertinent today. It may be well to restate it now, when that highly influential group, representing so great a body of Protestant, Catholic and Jewish influence, is again studying the status of religious liberty in Russia. It is as follows:

"After making all due allowances for the political, social and religious background of the Russian situation, and the difficulty of the problems with which the Soviet government has had to deal, the plain fact remains that religious persecution appears to prevail in Russia on a scale unprecedented in modern times; that this persecution is not based on objection to any particular form of religion—Orthodox, Jewish, Protestant, Roman Catholic or Mohammedan—but on hostility to religion as such, and on a determination to

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extirpate it for the coming generation in any and every form; and that this determination finds expression in confiscation of churches, punishing priests, rabbis and ministers who perform the duties of their sacred calling, forbidding them and all parents under severe penalties to teach religion to groups of children, however small, under the age of eighteen; while the government, not content with forbidding the religious instruction of children itself teaches them in government schools to repudiate and hate religion as superstition and the enemy of the state.

"The Committee has considered the question whether the persecution is due to groups of individuals, or to laws promulgated by the Soviet government, and it is aware that the Constitution includes a section on religious liberty and that the Russian officials claim that religious liberty does exist and that the persons punished were guilty of violation of law. The fact is, however, that laws that have been promulgated by the Soviet government, copies of which are in our possession, prove that the government itself is directly responsible for restraint upon religion which makes the constitutional provision a dead letter. For example, paragraph 17 of the 68 restrictive paragraphs in the 'Decree of all All-Russian Executive Committee and the Council (Soviet) of the Peoples Commissariat,' April 8, 1929, declares that 'the religious societies are prohibited . . . the rendering of material aid to their members; the organization of special meetings for children, young people, and women; the organization of prayer meetings, of public meetings for Bible study. . . .' Men have been imprisoned and exiled to Siberia for disregarding this and like official decrees."

"The question whether protest should be made against gross injustice has been settled by the conscience of mankind. If bitter wrong be done to millions of innocent victims, it is unthinkable that humane men and women should hold their peace. It is inevitable that they shall voice the protest of their souls. It is historically true that such protests have not 'done harm' but have been a mighty remedial force for good. It is not protest against wrong but silence that does harm.

"The Committee is aware that, while persecution in Russia is the most formidable assault that is now being made upon religious liberty, there are manifestations of like hostility in some other countries, and that there are men in our own land who extenuate the efforts of the Soviet government to abolish all religion and to punish as law-breakers those who continue to teach it. Such a spirit can be exorcised only by the power of an enlightened public opinion which, in the long run, is sure to prevail against wrong. It is to this public opinion that we appeal. The Committee therefore renews its former earnest request to the leaders of Christian churches, Jewish synagogues, and the representatives of other religious beliefs, to use every proper resource consistent with their faith and practice to express their sympathy with their distressed brethren in Russia, to voice their protest against the cruel wrongs to which they are being subjected, and to develop a stronger moral consciousness of the inestimable value of religious freedom and the necessity of emphasizing it in these days when the maintenance of this inalienable right is seriously threatened."

WEEK BY WEEK

Love against Hate

AS WE write these words, the Holy Father of Christendom is opening the sacred door of the central church of Christianity, St. Peter's in Rome, and inaugurating the Holy Year of Jubilee in commemoration of the nineteen-hundredth anniversary of the passion, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the God-Man. In Berlin, at the same time, the doors not only of their business places, but of equal opportunity, and the human rights of liberty, are closed by the Nazi government of Germany against the Jews of that afflicted country. "For one day only," says the official spokesman for the Nazis, Dr. Paul Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda; "unless or until the atrocity propaganda in the world outside of Germany, that now is ebbing, should be resumed. If that should be the case, the boycott will be resumed Wednesday with unprecedented force and vehemence." The descendants of the people that bore the special responsibility of testifying to the existence of one, transcendant, one only God, since before the dawn of recorded history—and who nineteen hundred years ago in part accepted, and in part rejected, the Man of their own race Who came to them declaring Himself to be this God, united to their own human flesh and blood—are once more suffering, or face to face with the threat of suffering, one of those terrible and mysterious periods of anguish which uniquely mark their tremendous record and distinguishes it from the stories of all other races of mankind.

GERMANY is a Christian country. Protestants and Catholics make up the immense majority of the population; the Protestants being at least three times more numerous than the Catholics, while the Jews constitute about one percent of the total. Just how many Protestants and Catholics really believe and practise the principles of Christianity—the root principle being love of God shown by love for men—nobody can precisely say. No statistics could possibly reveal that truth. Only actions can demonstrate either love or hate, faith or fear, dread or truth. "By their fruits you shall know them," said Jesus Christ. By the justice, or the lack of it, now displayed by the Christians of Germany, Protestant or Catholic both, toward the Jews, will the rest of the world judge the Christianity of Germany. That there are Communists among the Jews, is certain—but Germans of the true Nordic blood are also Communists. That there are atheists among Jews is a fact—but are there not atheists among

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Germans and among all other nations? A whole race cannot be justly condemned because like all races and all nations it is mixed of good and evil. We are confident that the present Nazi supremacy over the other political elements of the German people cannot possibly be left unmodified, to say the least, by the influence of those other elements—the decent, moderate, reasonable, Christian folk who make up the mass of the nation. We believe that if the Jews, as a race, cannot and must not be condemned, and all distinctions among them confounded in a wave of hatred against their evil elements, neither must the German people be condemned or judged by the actions of a section which has won supreme political power. Irrespective of all other things—political, business or cultural considerations—Christians outside of Germany must not judge rashly either the Jews or the Germans; they must work and pray with the Holy Father that from the open door of the Church, in this Holy Year, the power of love shall flow in such force as to overcome the poison gas of hatred now let loose in the world. The Pope believes that the Holy Year will mark the turning of the tide in world affairs toward peace. Let all Christians work with him to realize that hope.

DURING the past week, government and nation have found themselves in a rather curious situation. The good-will created by energetic moves to stop the banking debacle and curtail government expenditures ran into the stone wall of existing economic facts. It was found, to begin with, that a somewhat larger percentage of banks than had been expected were in bad condition. In some states monetary operations are still restricted to an extent which would have seemed unthinkable some years ago. Nor has the liquidation of unsound and immoral banking practice been easy. Again, industry continues to reveal the strain imposed by an automotive industry on the verge of collapse. Placing so large a unit as the Studebaker Corporation in receivership gave some tangible indication of how the decline of a business which once helped to create a boom is typical of the depression. Under such conditions it must be obvious that a marked swing from deflationary measures to the courageous use of credit and "buying money" is not being anticipated by the government or by anyone else whose both feet are on the ground. The administration seems rather to be devoting all its energy to creating a sound framework inside which future improvement can take place, and to be relying upon justifiable confidence as an eventual weapon against decline. Thus the securities control bill offered by the President is an excellent plan, which we and others advocated years ago, to safeguard the public against dapper bond salesmen with big names behind them.

As Things Are Now

NEVERTHELESS the question which confronts the government is surely also that which the unfortunate and much to be regretted Bruening government faced in Germany: how long can the nation stand the continuing pressure of deflation? This does not mean inability to postpone indefinitely anything like inflation of the currency. We think that there is every reason to suppose that the administration will avoid this nostrum and go in for altering the gold content of the dollar only if sheer necessity—as in the case of Great Britain—drove the nation to it. But there are other ways in which anti-deflationary measures can be enacted, and we believe the time has come when some of them will be tried. The most important among them is government borrowing to finance reconstructive measures. Such bond issues can be handled under existing legislation without making money expensive, which it would have been if such issues had been floated under Mr. Hoover's direction. Of major importance, it seems to us, is the avoidance of anything like a frontal attack upon the depression—the flotation of five billion dollars worth of bonds, for example. The borrowing should be done as the government apparently is planning to do it, piecemeal and with worth-while objectives in sight. Obviously there should also be careful, well-engineered distribution of reconstructive efforts, some of which have already been formulated for agriculture and others of which are being planned for industry. In short, we think the country is in good hands, and we have confidence that the effect of its example will be beneficent on other countries, the cooperation of which is necessary if world order is to be restored.

MOST of us have suspected that there must be a lesson somewhere in the welter of international debts, though the price paid for it seems rather high. Speaking in Boston recently, Mr. Richard Washburn Child declared: "Whatever may be said today about the collection or remission of intergovernmental debts, these debts should be barred forever in the future." That is a rather startling suggestion, but there is a great deal to be said in its favor. Money cannot be loaned without some control over the person who is getting it; and the control which one nation has over another is pretty small. No doubt the United States might have attached more strings to some of its loans, particularly those which grew out of the war. Yet even if the various grants had been accompanied by treaties, the sanctions available to enforce them would not have stood the test of the emotional strain to which world society has been subjected since the war. Mr. Child does not, of course, deny the right of governments to float loans in the world market, with the object of attracting private investors. Indeed, he even supposes that "coöperative intergovernmental loans" arranged by the World Bank might be necessary in certain emergencies. Our own opinion is that the Monroe Doctrine in a measure commits us as a people to some sort of Latin American financing, and we be-

One Government to Another

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lieve that nations below Texas should not be permitted to offer securities in the open markets of the United States. But in so far as Europe is concerned, we agree with Mr. Child. The history of the past fifteen years seems entirely on his side.

"In the Present Crisis"

AS AN indication of willingness to serve a common high moral code, the statement recently issued by the National Conference of Jews and Christians is decidedly interesting as well as valuable. A committee of some one hundred representatives of Catholicism, Protestantism and Jewry united to say: "We hold that the present organization of society fails in tragic measure to reflect the principles of justice and brotherhood which our religious teachings share in common, when it allows untold numbers of men, women and children to suffer in the midst of plenty." The specific recommendations made include care for the aged, unemployment insurance, reduction of working hours and the creation of a national industrial planning board. Perhaps the veteran reader of economic and social comment will find little that is new in either the language or the spirit of this document. Yet that would be an obviously superficial view. We doubt if ever before in the history of the nation there has been such unanimity of feeling about the moral and spiritual implications of a social order, or such readiness to endorse a program of practical action. The times have awakened no new saints or religious prophets. But surely the old speak in the community of belief visible, despite all disparateness, in our world.

The Agony of Hope

ONE OF the perennial mysteries of our faith is the realization of joy through agony. This is of those divine paradoxes that are as a matter of fact bafflingly simple and are best observed by the bemused human thinking machine empirically. Each one judging from cases known to him can appreciate that none are so sad as those whose faith is in the pursuit of exclusively temporal pleasures. And if one has the good fortune to know some religious who have made the complete self-dedication of themselves to serve others and thereby serve their God, he will know what real, thrilling, deep and enduring joy can be—not as a matter of metaphor or surface appearances, but as an observable and completely convincing phenomenon. Ignorant sentimentalists who have, from a kind of inferiority-complex fear of truth, avoided any fair proportion of search in the positive evidence for our faith, like to describe essential Christianity as a sad thing. They misunderstand the complete doctrine of self-immolation, and talk of the sad, defeated Christ. Those who have given at least an equable portion of their intellectual pursuit to the records of positive evidence, know how pitifully incomplete is such a notion. They can appreciate that this nineteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of Our Lord should be a year of jubilation, a period for the renewal not only of our faith but also of our hope. Charity is of course the key, not alone almsgiving but also that wide, all-embracing charity on which the sanity of our world depends, the charity which stirred the heart of Our Lord in His agony in the garden of olives, with the commemoration of which we have throughout this country, at the invitation of the Holy Father, initiated the jubilee celebration of the *Anno Santo;* the charity which was beautifully exemplified in New York City at the great gathering of Protestants, Jews and Catholics to commemorate the opening of the holy door in Rome the day preceding. It is hope in the widespread existence still of this charity which is directly opposed to greed and brute materialism, that is the basis of the Holy Father's frequent expressions of confidence that through our celebration of this nineteen-hundredth anniversary, with due observance of its higher sacramental aspects, we shall see the world happier.

WANTED: A DICTATOR?

HONEYMOON days for Mr. Roosevelt? Perhaps. Yet it is plain that during the past weeks his personality has symbolized something for which citizens have been waiting and longing. To set forth this "something" and comment upon it will be the object of the following remarks. We may note to begin with that the President took office with a "mandate from the people," which means that Americans had grown conscious of problems which desperately need solving and were determined that solutions must be found. But on the other hand there was and is no agreement about what can be done. While the public has grown discontented and angry, the "doctors" find it impossible to agree upon a diagnosis and a regimen. The obvious meaning of Mr. Roosevelt's election was, therefore, that people expected him to find out and apply the best that the "doctors" could suggest.

The new administration did not, however, start there. It confronted situations of peril in the face of which there was virtual unanimity of opinion; and the rapid strokes with which it laid low the banking scare and the menace of a grotesquely unbalanced budget merely whetted the appetite of the public for more dragon killing. At this point the trouble begins. Do we want to impose retroactive penalties upon industry for the lead it stole on the farmer? Shall our policy be higher tariffs or lower tariffs? Do the six billion dollars locked up in frozen banks create a money shortage that can be met only by inflation, termed by some a "managed" currency? Is Europe's withdrawal of trade balances in order to pay off war debts a sign that our world position can be saved only by scrapping war-time obligations? Does this mean an inescapable fiat of interest reduction? Do we want to stake all hopes for unemployment relief on a gigantic program of public works, or shall the government combine forestry and similar projects with a form of the dole? These are

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just a few of the questions to which no collective answer is in sight.

The upshot is—and must necessarily be—a more and more clearly expressed demand for federal dictatorship. President Roosevelt has obtained from Congress full powers to deal with government expenditures, and has insisted that the Chief Executive alone is in a position to conduct war debt negotiations. The farm relief legislation proposed confers upon the Secretary of Agriculture authority never before given to a Cabinet official. Mr. Alfred E. Smith has advocated the appointment of a "dictator of public works," empowered to exact of the citizen an obedience similar to that given during the war. Leaders of industry in number have declared (and what is more thought) that "only a Mussolini" can save us now. The same opinion is making headway in more modest circles. One can hardly listen to a conversation about events of the day without getting a whiff of the dictatorship complex.

This complex is not, however, as new as one might imagine. Here again we are witnessing a revival of points of view familiar during the halcyon days before the war. A whole school of writers then asserted that government in the United States had reached an impasse, the only possible escape from which led through a concentration of authority in the hands of a few men. In his too little noticed writings, Albert Stickney argued (1906 and later) that administration must be "single headed." He declared that "every administrative office" must be placed "under the full control of some single man, who shall individually be held responsible for the efficiency of that office." Another equally forgotten but interesting and typical writer, Frank Exline, went even farther and wrote: "The people themselves desire neither democracy nor popular sovereignty; they desire efficient, wise and just government; and they would welcome the inauguration of any practical method or system by which the most efficient, wise and just men in the state could be discovered and installed in the offices of government." There is no end of similar language in the political essays of the period; and it may be argued that what won the support of liberals for Theodore Roosevelt was his "big stick."

Today, after more than a decade of complete indifference to government—a decade during which the insouciance of Jimmie Walker had an eminently symbolical value—we are reverting to ideas held by our ancestors. The men of the previous generation were deeply alarmed at the influence exerted by machine politicians upon the selection and election of public officials. They sought to abolish patronage by concentrating power in the hands of a few men entrusted by the public with full responsibility. Our present worry is lest the welter of conflicting interests, philosophies and "plans" should result in a stalemate of governmental authority. The difference between yesterday and today is instructive, but the agreement is even more so.

Mr. Hoover's last Congress was, of course, the ultimate example of how completely action can be blocked by disagreement. Even such a question as whether an amendment to repeal the Eighteenth Amendment ought to be submitted to state conventions or state legislatures aroused so much excited discussion that nothing whatever could be done to clarify the issue. One of the serious queries raised by such failures is whether the concept of majority rule still possesses much significance. The presidential election of 1932 appeared to indicate that the prohibition forces were clearly in the minority. But what brand of wet is in the ascendency? The older political theorists held that majority rule was an enlightened and valuable substitute for rule by force. But suppose that majority rule no longer exists?

Some assert boldly that the notion of ruling in accordance with the will of the people is out of date, impracticable and even ridiculous. Walter Lippmann ventured some tentative remarks to that effect in 1925, but the case has become infinitely stronger since. The ease with which organizations in favor of this, that and the other ideology can be developed under modern conditions has led to the erroneous conclusion that the sum-total must be "good government." No one seems to have borne in mind that the organizations might prove to be antagonistic to one another, or sponsor views so different that in the end the air would be full of swallows making, as usual, no summer. Take for example the grave problem of unemployment relief. Those of us who have listened to debates regarding it know that there exists, concerning every aspect of the subject, such a confusion of thought and sentiment that it is not merely impossible to say who favors anything but also out of the question to predict that the same group will endorse the same policies a month hence.

The repercussions of all this on Washington have been lamentably bad. How can any man in public office tell what the people want? There exists, first of all, a complicated group of commercial and financial "interests," each of which is represented by a trained propagandist. If the automotive industry puts in a bid for some favor, the boot and shoe manufacturers are sure to parry the thrust with a suggestion of their own. The disastrous effects of the system are well known. But in addition Washington likewise boasts of an endless, variegated amalgam of organization representatives, each of whom is pledged to work for a measure or a point of view believed expedient. Patriotic societies and pacifist societies; prohibition supporters and anti-prohibition supporters; groups anxious to impose censorship and groups opposed to every kind of curb on freedom of expression; inflationists and counter-inflationists; hands-across-the-sea enthusiasts and dyed-in-the-wool nationalists—these and a hundred other organizations afford concrete proof of how the chaotic public mind of the time is turning the ideal of "public opinion" into the equivalent of mutually destructive wrangling.

That is the situation. How to deal with it is perhaps *the* problem.

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HONEYMOONING

By CHARLES WILLIS THOMPSON

Confidence in American institutions and American willingness to face the grave implications of social order has to a great extent been restored, not merely in the United States but also in other lands, by President Roosevelt's handling of important problems. But there is real danger lest this turn into blind faith or degenerate into a spell of ineffective optimism. Accordingly Mr. Thompson analyzes the situation, not so much by appealing to the "lessons of history" as by appraising the factors underlying our system of government and estimating the difficulties which hamper progress.—The Editors.

THE EXCELLENT start made by President Roosevelt and the Seventy-third Congress has given justifiable cheer to the whole country. Perhaps it has given so much cheer that many people imagine this will be an exception to all the thirty-one previous administrations in American history, and will have no ups and downs—will go on from stepping-stones of its thirty-one dead selves to higher and higher things. Science has failed to justify that way of putting the evolution theory, which was Tennyson's way. In this other matter, that of present American politics, there lies a danger. The danger is that an overdose of optimism will lead to an overdose of pessimism, still more unjustifiable, at the first check in the onrush of prosperity; and we are not yet far enough out of the woods to be safe in standing an overdose of pessimism.

There is nothing mystical about the fact that every administration, beginning with Washington's, has met with sudden checks, some of which it took sagacious statesmanship to overcome and some which were not overcome. The fact is probably inherent in every form of government, but in the United States the definite reason is the tripartite form of government devised at Philadelphia in 1787. When John Doe talks about the government, he habitually speaks of "the President," as if the President were the government. The Constitution divided the government into three co-equal parts: the executive, headed by the President, being one; the legislative, consisting of Congress, being another; and the judicial, headed by the Supreme Court, being still another. Each of them is a check on the other two; any one of them may at any time defeat the will of both the others; and the interests of the three are diverse. When they are so diverse as to be contradictory, the division of the government which is temporarily the most powerful never has any compunction about thwarting the will of either or both of the others. The Supreme Court is the least trammeled, but it has had to give way many a time.

Congress and President Roosevelt have begun with an eager disposition to coöperate, and everybody knows the early and happy results. The danger lies in the shock to public confidence the first time they differ, as all their predecessors have differed; in laying a panicky stress on such differences, and exaggerating their importance. There would be no such danger if the country were in its normal state of serenity, but that is too much to expect after such years as the recent ones.

Generally speaking, the interests of a Congress are not those of a President. When they are so different as to be violently opposed, it is usually Congress which wins out. The reason why they are different is simply that while the President represents the whole people, each Congressman represents a segment of it whose interests may be diametrically opposite to the interests of the district adjoining his. One of the most famous incidents of the kind in our history was when New York City and that part of New Jersey just across the Hudson came near splitting the republic over the question as to which of them should control the local navigation. Congress couldn't settle the question, for each congressman looked for instructions not to the nation but to his district, and Jersey City's interests were not New York's. The Supreme Court ultimately setled it in what is called "the Steamboat Case."

Another axiom is that whenever the President encounters opposition in Congress, the opposition to him in his own party is likely to be more virulent than that in the other. The reason is that congressmen of the President's own party are under suspicion by their constituents, if the President is temporarily unpopular, and have stronger reason for clearing their skirts of that suspicion and making it clear that they stand by their districts. Human nature does not change in a man merely because Citizen Smith has become Congressman Smith.

In this article, as little allusion as possible will be made to the invariable lessons of history, because many readers persistently refuse to regard history as a live thing, and regard it not as a moving, breathing present reality, but as something embalmed in amber at a museum. It may be for that reason that so many people think of Congress only as a tool of the President's, knowing nothing of the many times when Congress has overridden the President, the fewer occasions when it has wrecked his administration, and the more frequent occasions when he has either overrun it or slid around it. No President has ever succeeded in invariably bending Congress to his will; not Jackson, not Wilson, not Theodore Roosevelt.

No adverse criticism of Congress is implied in all this. Congress desires the welfare of the people, as much as the President and the Supreme Court do. But it is not possible for all men to view in the same light the ways in which that welfare can be secured. It is not possible that Senator Dill should think he should

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take the same kind of steps to secure it that Senator Wagner thinks he should. There have been occasions when the majority of Congress was sure that the Supreme Court itself was acting contrary to the interests of the people, and on one occasion it came near abbreviating the power of the Supreme Court and, in political cases, making it a mere appendage of Congress. There have been threats of doing the same thing since. I am here writing of recent times, though it is an article of faith with careless readers that all idea of curtailing that court's power ended with John Marshall's establishment of its equality in the government.

In using the word "Congress," one uses a word of summation. There are hundreds of congressmen, and they can't be expected to think as a unit; they don't goose-step like a Kaiserist regiment. But, taking them as a whole, Congress has and always has had its individual character. In school we are taught that the government is made up of three co-equal branches, each as potent in its line as the others in theirs. That, however, seems to be one of the numerous lessons one learns at school by rote without taking in, for after school days have passed it doesn't seem to have registered. Men and women continue to talk of "the President" as if he were the whole government, much in the same way in which Russians used to think of the czar as their "Little Father"; though in fact the power of the czarist government was divided, very often, among a number of officials of whom the czar was only one—and, as in the case of Nicholas II, not the most influential. Stürmer, Soukhomlinoff, and before them Pobiedonetzoff and even Witte are evidences of that.

Now the reason why the interests and the futures of individual congressmen are often so strong as to make them, however unwillingly, take a stand against even the President himself when he conflicts with them results from the scheme of government under which we have lived ever since 1789. In one aspect the congressman represents the whole country. In the other, which is the one directly affecting himself as a man, he does not. He represents his district. His district has the power of political life and death over him. If he defies it, or even if he does not give it full satisfaction, he is out of a job. In the case of a representative he cannot survive its displeasure more than two years, and in actual practice the headsman's ax is swinging over him a year or so earlier. In the case of a senator he can draw his salary for six years, but long before that he knows that the ax is going to fall. Being a congressman is more than an honor; it is a job; it is dollars and cents, bread and butter, for himself and his family. If he loses out, he has very often been spoiled for any other sort of career; of which fact no better proof can be offered than the once-great congressmen who, unceremoniously turned out, can't go back home to compete in the practice of law with the enterprising townsmen who have been building up a rival practice while they have been away in Washington. Too many of them have to stay in Washington, picking up what humble crumbs they can, perhaps as lobbyists, publicity promoters, or what not.

This is the sort of thing every President is up against, combined with the tradition of solidarity which does not bind every congressman but is still potent and must be reckoned with. No President has ever had to confront it in a shape more alive than Mr. Roosevelt has, and that is because of the restlessness and uncertainty caused by the financial depression. It is what Calvin Coolidge had in mind when he wrote, privately and not for publication, his special sympathy with what the new President would have to encounter.

Whatever difficulties Mr. Roosevelt may have to meet will not be manifest at once. At first the anxiety to get along harmoniously will restrain many a tongue and vote. It is always so, and a celebrated and shrewd congressman once referred to the first six months as "the honeymoon period of an administration." There are, too, jobs to be handed out, and hope is a silencer, for the time. There is another side to that, though; for every friend a President makes by the presentation of a job, he makes many enemies among those who wanted that job and are disappointed.

While all this is true of every new administration, it is historically truer of Democratic administrations than of Republican ones. Partly this is because the Democratic party is not so homogeneous or—this is an axiom—so well disciplined. Partly it is due to the fact that the Democratic party comprises so many alien and often hostile interests. These interests are often more hostile to each other than to the Republicans. It is not to be expected that the Bishop Cannons will see eye to eye with the Walshes of Massachusetts, or the Huey Longs with the Owen Youngs. In the Republican party there are differences too, but historically that party has a greater power of closing ranks than the Democrats. Democrats boast of this, for it has its good side; it is because, they say, their party has more independence of thought and freedom of action.

For good or bad, this has been the history of all Democratic administrations, without reaching so far back into the musty past as to evoke the terrific battle Andrew Jackson had to fight with Congress, going so far that the Senate passed a resolution of censure on the President and he was not powerful enough to have it expunged until the close of his eight years; and there never was a stronger President than Jackson. The story, always the same, goes far back of him. But, for those who take any interest in history as a guide to the present, it is better to illustrate by more recent times.

Cleveland, therefore, was probably the strongest President we ever had, next to Jackson. Congress began its warfare on him without waiting for "the honeymoon period" to pass, or even begin. He fought unceasingly, in his determined and uncompromising manner; but in what ought to have been "the honeymoon period" he was only able to save his pet measure, the repeal of the Sherman silver purchase law, by the aid of Republican votes. He had been elected on a pledge

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of downward tariff revision, and he sought next to redeem the pledge by having Congress pass a tariff reform law. It went through the House, but in the Senate it was transformed into a high protection measure; and this was done by the Democratic leaders, headed by Senator Gorman of Maryland. Cleveland denounced it as a measure of "perfidy and dishonor"; and from that time he was openly the target of Democratic scoffings and thwartings on the floors of both Houses. His administration was wrecked at Democratic hands within a year and a half after his inauguration, though he had been elected by a landslide.

Wilson, despite the opposition he encountered at the outset, had the tactical advantage of being a war President; it was regarded as unpatriotic to oppose him, though such leaders as Speaker Clark, Senator Stone and Leader Kitchen would not even go along with him in that matter. But by the close of his administration self-suppression was at an end: there was not merely mutiny but revolt, as when he vetoed the prohibition law and Congress repassed it over the veto that very day. Not to go back into Buchanan's time, there is enough Democratic history to justify Coolidge's prophetic instinct, in this time of all times.

THE WORLD ECONOMIC CONFERENCE

By GERHARD HIRSCHFELD

ON JANUARY 19 the Preparatory Commission of Experts for the World Monetary and Economic Conference concluded its second meeting. Six days later, the Organization Committee of the Council of the League of Nations formally accepted the experts' report and announced that the World Economic Conference itself could not possibly meet before the end of April; so numerous and important were the several issues to be studied in the meantime. In fact, it may safely be assumed that the Conference will hardly convene before midsummer.

Regardless of the results achieved—or missed—by the experts, it seems beyond doubt that we cannot afford to ignore the effort or its achievements, may they be ever so vague. A time which moves in utter darkness as to direction or goal, has no greater or more reliable asset than good-will and honest purpose. It is these two factors which typify the preparatory work of the World Economic Conference and which thus lift it out and above the standard conventions and resolutions of experts and non-experts within national borders.

The foundation upon which the agenda of the World Economic Conference is being prepared, is international. This, possibly, is its most encouraging aspect. For if there is any one issue within the mass and confusion of economic problems which may be considered the key to any and all solutions, financial, political, industrial, agricultural, then it is the restoration of economic peace throughout the world. It is the one point which must be advanced ahead of any thesis purporting to solve current problems. It is the one issue to which may be reduced any of our present-day difficulties.

This brings up the question: what are the problems faced by the experts in Geneva? Discounting all the side-issues and concentrating upon the fundamental questions which hinder the return of early recovery, not only in the United States but throughout the world, the outstanding problems may thus be summarized:

The development of the depression, as it has worked its way in the United States for the last three years, in most parts of the remaining world for the last thirteen years, has been accompanied by a steadily increasing trend toward national isolation. Nations which have a domestic market of their own showed greater anxiety to protect and profit from it, than to trust to the give-and-take principle of international trade.

For such endeavor, most nations were poorly prepared. They did not live from their own markets before the war; much less could they risk it after the war. Between 1914 and 1918, wealth was destroyed on an unprecedented scale; plants in excess of normal requirements had been constructed to meet the needs of warfare; monetary systems were disorganized; public debts tremendously increased; accumulation of capital was checked by inflation; countries which were formerly markets for industrial products, became competitors; other countries, such as Russia and China, changed their social and economic, as well as political, status; Germany became the largest debtor, United States the largest creditor, nation of the world (if we ignore the empire creditor status of Britain); and where huge additional markets were required for an enormously expanded production system, the consumption capacity of the existing markets had actually shrunk a great deal.

Considering the truism of the principle that debts, whether they be reparations, interallied or private debts, can be paid off only in goods, the problem of the huge load of international indebtedness grew as tariff walls went up higher and higher. Inflation of currencies which, in reality, is deflation of debts and prices, followed in Germany, France and most of the Balkan countries. It did not prove an adequate remedy because of the political instability.

Soon, the evil of domestic seclusion led to a thoroughly unbalanced economy. Income and outgo were out of proportion; exchange restrictions were resorted to; governmental budgets tumbled as the agricultural crisis and the strangling of outlets for industrial production led to a rapid falling-off of individual and corporate income. The majority of nations went off the

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gold standard; as to the remaining minority, the international standard is secure with none. The fearful drop in prices brought up the problem of illiquidity. Lack of confidence as well as of secure and profitable investment possibilities was and is responsible for radical credit restriction and contraction.

This, in brief, is the situation faced by the experts. What did they have to say about it?

The commission did most of its work in two subcommittees, one treating the monetary, the other the economic, problems. Professor Williams, the American financial expert, Professor Rist of France, and Sir Frederick Phillips of Great Britain tried to answer the monetary problem. They laid particular emphasis on the necessity of restoring currencies to a healthy basis. Gold should be restored as the common basis of an international monetary system. This conclusion may be surprising to those who know that, in terms of goods, gold has doubled its value since 1920 and has increased since 1929 by more than 40 percent; that the gold standard has proven the most unstable factor in our economic system; that it has utterly failed as a stabilizing element even in the two "gold countries," United States and France; that gold cannot be at the same time a fixed standard and a commodity which is shipped back and forth and depends upon supply and demand for its valuation. Nevertheless, the experts are of the opinion that "the World Conference, in the absence of another international standard likely to be universally acceptable, will have to consider how the conditions for a successful restoration of a free gold standard could be fulfilled."

But the experts are well aware of the importance of "that restoration of confidence without which great hesitation will be felt in taking decisions to return to the gold standard." To that end, the problem of intergovernmental debts must first be solved, they believe. Until there is at least a definite prospect of a settlement, these debts will remain an insuperable barrier to economic and financial reconstruction. It is not said, nor indicated, however, in which way the settlement may most conveniently and most satisfactorily be arrived at; the effect of an agreement on intergovernmental debts upon the rate of interest, upon taxation, tariffs and the like is not commented upon.

It is pointed out, though, that the restoration of confidence must be achieved through concerted as well as individual action on the part of governments. All public budgets must be balanced (it is not made clear how governments can balance their budgets at a time when, on one side, emergency and relief measures require huge additional expenditures while, on the other side, their income is invariably falling short of estimates, let alone of requirements). Inflationary increases of the note circulation must be avoided at all costs—which is a rather timid way of answering the challenge of declining prices and rising debts, as long as no precise way of procedure is proposed.

The experts then come to the question: what should be done about foreign exchanges prior to the reëstablishment of the gold standard? They offer three remedies: for the countries with a free gold standard and with abundant monetary reserves, that is the United States and France, primarily, they prescribe a liberal credit policy with low rates in the short-term market, reduction of long-term rates by means of conversion, and an active open market policy; also a policy which would permit gold to flow out freely and facilitate foreign investments.

This sounds desirable, indeed, but it is far removed from realities. There was no lack of a most generous credit policy with very low rates in the United States during 1932. The New York Federal Reserve Bank began the year with a discount rate of 3½ percent, and closed it with 2½ percent. Short-term interest rates fell to the lowest figures on record. There was not only an easy credit policy but a most fully equipped credit inflation. Yet, the result was a flat failure. Reduction of long-term rates through conversion, again, is hindered by the fact that more than one-half of the public debt of the United States, which stands presently at $21,000,000,000, matures or is callable during the current year. Conversion requires banking coöperation, but the lowering of the interest rate cuts into banking interests. The outflow of gold, finally, is dependent upon the opening of tariff-locked markets. No nation will offer gold because other nations need it. Something will be asked in return, and that something is goods.

For countries off the gold standard the experts propose that competition between nations by means of a depreciated currency be avoided. This, apparently, is aimed at Great Britain which furnished one of the most recent instances of temporary export gain through devaluated currency. But this looks very much like pulling the horse by head and tail at the same time. For it is natural that no nation will risk such a dangerous experiment as inflation of the currency merely for the sake of temporarily increased exports. Nor will any nation refuse to reap the advantages of cheapened export goods once it is driven into a depreciated currency. To round out the picture, it may be added that almost all nations depend upon an increased export trade (inflation or no inflation), in order to balance their national economy and, likewise, to stabilize their currencies.

The price problem is dealt with by the experts in a very inconclusive manner. They state the existing disequilibrium between costs and prices, and discuss methods of restoring balance either by a reduction in costs or by a rise in prices. This is as true as it is obvious; but it fits poorly into a scheme of remedial measures when every employer is adding to the number of unemployed and contributing to the decline in purchasing power, in an effort to reduce costs and to balance income and outgo. And the advice sounds little encouraging when it comes at a time where the very problem of prices (as connected with debts) makes devaluation of the currency the dominating issue of the day.

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And in a similar way, the experts continue throughout the length of the "annotated agenda" prepared for the World Economic Conference. On the question of resumption of international movements of capital they rightly stress the lack of confidence and instability of foreign exchanges. The removal of foreign exchange restrictions and of all the paraphernalia which have grown out of the control of exchange, is strongly recommended. With regard to the existing indebtedness, they propose coöperation between creditors and debtors. As to new capital movements they advise the use of "normal credit channels." In connection with foreign trade, they are "unanimous in affirming the necessity that action for the removal of the restrictions on international trade should be taken as soon as possible and continued on progressively wider lines." A customs truce is definitely proposed, but methods and working agreements are left for the Conference to decide upon.

From this brief summary it will be seen that the work of the experts leaves much to be desired. There is not one single item which may be considered a worth-while contribution. In spite of the disheartening experiences with the gold standard, it is nevertheless recommended by a group of professionals who ought to be the first to see the weakness of their recommendation and who ought to have the courage and the vision to work out a better and more reliable standard. In spite of the abundant evidence of recent years that tariffs are not derived from economic but political motifs, there is yet no indication that the experts have treated the tariff problem from any other but an economic point of view. In spite of the tremendous amount of human suffering, directly due to the fall in prices and the rise in debts, be that foreclosure or unemployment, loss of income, of home, of security, there is little to show in the experts' report that they have considered at all the very essential (and possibly all-important) fact that human nature will stand so much of deflation, of contraction, of economic cures, proposals, decisions, programs, resolutions and solutions—and then human nature and its inherent weakness will force its natural outlet in inflation, revolution, suspension of the gold standard or any of scores of economically silly but humanly thoroughly defensible actions. The experts cannot be considered responsible if they sit down and write lengthy reports on the easing of credit policies, well knowing that there is no credit where there is neither security nor profitability, in short, if confidence in a better future—and in the near future—is lacking throughout the world.

If the experts have failed in their "expertness," there is a reason for it. One need but look at the illustrious list of advisers and commentators. Among them we find: a Director in the French Ministry of Commerce, a Director in the German Ministry of Economics, the Japanese Financial Commissioner in London, the Secretary-General of the Belgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, an Under-Secretary of the British Treasury, the Chief Economic Advisor to the British Government and many other officials with definite political affiliations.

These men were not free to talk as they pleased. Their approach was largely influenced by political considerations, if not actual instructions from the Home Office. And this might well give us a taste of the enormous difficulties, controversies, suspicions, prejudices which the World Economic Conference will have to face when the delegates will not talk about formulas but about their realization and practical application. If the Experts' Conference limited itself to economic discussions (with negligible results), the World Conference will witness the full force of political dissension.

The experts have emphasized the need for economic peace. Economic peace, however, must be preceded by political armistice, at least. It is in this connection illuminating to see Germany making a determined effort toward national self-sufficiency; Japan launching a bitter and cruel campaign aiming at an economically balanced economy; Russia in the midst of a campaign for national independence; France in splendid isolation; Britain attempting to strengthen her empire frontiers; the United States proudly proclaiming her domestic power—with every nation, no matter how small, endeavoring to secure economic predominance in its own rights. This is the outlook for political, and therefore economic peace. It is the crumbling foundation of the World Economic Conference.

Enough of that! Though the experts' crop is disappointing, there remains the faith that we are slowly approaching the time when the recognition of the need for international coöperation will emerge triumphant. The undoubted good-will of these men will carry on to better and greater opportunities.

The Ark and the Dove

When the Ark and Dove within the glassy wave
Beheld their sails,
After they'd crossed that more-than-tossing pave
Where walk the whales,

After they saw the emerald land, new-green,
Rise from the sea,
Scarfing them round like sunset clouds, serene,
With constancy,

"Angels we are," they said, "who with our wide,
Wide-spreading wings
Have brought to this new land, presanctified,
Its precious things.

We've brought, clasped to our sunset-light breasts,
The chalice, the Host,
From England to this cloud-bank of the West's,
Our Mary's coast."

And as these ships swam river-ward still they sang,
Still with their bows,
This little song of foam which silver rang
Through worlds a-drowse.

DANIEL SARGENT.

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A CENTER FOR WOMEN LEADERS

By MARY KOLARS

THE FACT that we Catholics lag behind other groups of comparable influence in America in the social organization which fosters and develops the unusual individual, the outgoing talent, the born leader, is, of course, perfectly explicable. But perhaps we dwell too much on the obvious explanation. The strain put upon our people's resources by the unprecedented speed and scope of the Church's expansion here; the canalizing of our common effort, and a mighty effort it has been, in our common, indispensable necessities—churches, charities, schools—certainly help to explain our comparative lack of specialized development. But stating it in those terms has always made it seem too simply a material business. Promoting a tradition of leadership, and developing the many-sided training that goes with it, is much more than a material business, especially to Catholics. It is a business of realization and definition. It is a business of evolving a technique to meet this exacting situation: that we, and especially our leaders, must initiate and sustain our program of Catholic Action, not out in the void, but within sharply limited areas—the spiritual area of the nation, and usually also the geographical area of the parish.

It is the task of our leaders to bring about an organic fusion between that sovereign, universal truth we call Catholicism and the living culture, in the largest sense, of our particular country; and this task, more glorious but certainly harder than that facing any other group, must be worked out, in the majority of cases, subject to the limitations, educational, psychological, social, even personal, of that self-contained, centripetal unit about which the strength of the Church is built, the Catholic parish. Surely our partial failure to grasp this situation, and to formulate a procedure, a technique, explicit enough to meet it, has wasted our motion and slowed us up, independently of our involved resources.

We have heard the words "good Americans and good Catholics" from babyhood, and most of us strive earnestly to be both; but most of us are not both at the same time, in a way that betokens a living, *unified* ideal; and we lose so much of our leadership material to the world precisely because we are not prepared to present those who might be leaders with such an ideal. Though they may remain "good Catholics," they draw away by instinct from our separatist attitude, as of a group doomed to perpetual non-communication with society; they know that it will not permit a robust, full-bodied functioning of their social powers. In the same way, we all know that the parish is the norm of Catholic structure, that it is the mediator of religion to the individual, that it surrounds and sustains the family; that the vigor of its corporate social life measures, finally, the vigor of that life throughout the Church. And we are deadly familiar with the struggles of overworked pastors to promote parish activities; their pleas for lay coöperation and leadership in developing a full, rich parish life sound almost as homelily in our ears as the Sunday Gospels. Yet, by and large, we have let the parish struggle along almost at its lowest terms. Especially the city parish. In some dioceses away from the great centers of population, there has been direct, intelligent facing of the problem: the work done under Bishop O'Hara, of Great Falls, is a notable example. But in the cities, we have neglected pretty thoroughly the needs and challenges in the field of parish leadership.

It is the woman leader who is the subject proper of this article. Shall we describe her? She must have devotion and enthusiasm, and the secret of inspiring them in others. She must be able to initiate and organize, to combine the flexible and experimental in proper proportions with the stable and accepted. She must know a number of things very well: the doctrines of her Church; her general community; the best standards and highest achievements in her particular field, whether it be child welfare, amateur dramatics, scouting, home culture or general social promotion. She must be able to appropriate the best, the very best, in the society around her to a growing Catholic purpose that includes that society as well as, more specifically, her fellow Catholics. She must be qualified to serve as an *officier de liaison* between her own and that outside world of which also Catholics are an inseparable and duty-owing part. Though her friendliness must always be discriminating, she must speak its language and take its serious ideals, attempts and accomplishments seriously. She must approach the world with the security of working from the Center of all things, the Truth most vital to all beings; and she must be able, in returning to her group, to tell them about the world, to bring back its often valuable discoveries, take her text from its often splendid lessons. She must *know* that whatever is true, charitable or legitimately effective, wherever found, is the business and should be the actual possession of Catholics, for it is in essence Catholic, and part of the complete life it is our duty to try to attain.

Of course we have such women now in all fields but notably, perhaps, in the field of welfare work: magnificent pioneers who, sometimes separately, sometimes in associations, have been developing this technique of contact and interchange into what must remain the classic basis for later effort. But though increasing, they are not many, and they tend in the main to be specialists with national careers. And even those of them who are successful parish leaders cannot be regarded as self-perpetuating institutions. We must

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have something that goes beyond the most significant or successful individual, and far beyond what any college is able to do, though it perform its academic job perfectly. If the work is to be done in scope, and the high potential of parish life to be realized in any systematic way, we must have centers of training, concentration points of effort, culture and experiment, whose prestige is as indisputable as is their ability to relate a particular parish problem to its proper field of general knowledge. We must have graduate seminars in normal Catholic leadership, which will recognize and confirm the leader's devotion to her group, and at the same time answer her instinct and need for authoritative standards and for training whose general competence is beyond question.

Nothing is more evident, after the need, surely, than the material ready to hand: the numbers of fine young Catholic women who have acquired, in college or by personal inspiration, disinterested intelligences, social minds, a respect for hard work and good work, and who wish, eagerly, touchingly, to be used, to embody their religious idealism actively, to count in some way for the Church. How shall these unspent abilities be gathered in to our common advantage?

In the Archdiocese of New York, the Carroll Club has worked out an answer to this problem that will, it seems likely, become the model for the great metropolitan centers throughout the country. The Carroll Club, of course, is not new. It was founded, under the patronage of one of America's great leaders and supporters of Catholic Action, Mrs. Nicholas F. Brady, in 1919, which makes it almost venerable, as Catholic social history goes with us; and since then it has been far and honorably known for its work. It has provided its members, Catholic business and professional women and girls of moderate incomes, with club facilities and an unusual home life in the particularly choice club headquarters at 120 Madison Avenue, one of Stanford White's most beautifully designed structures. Its membership has run into the many hundreds yearly, and it has been from the first a solid and valued feature in New York's general social landscape. But, though the fact was not by any means so widely understood, the club's original purpose, its spiritual charter, so to speak, was always much wider; and during these years when its more quickly realized service has been known and utilized, its other, more comprehensive service has been worked at, carefully, deliberately, intelligently. It is now not merely a home for young Catholic women with limited incomes and gentlepeople's standards. It is functioning, with increasing range and effectiveness, as precisely the sort of Catholic center which we have been outlining; and it meets, not merely in wistful theory, but in actual, concrete fact, the very high standards of excellence found in the allied groups among the best of non-Catholic workers.

This heartening and enormously interesting development has recently been the theme of a letter from His Eminence Cardinal Hayes to the parishes of his jurisdiction. It is a fairly unprecedented letter, and worthy of extended quotation. His Eminence notes that the club "has been doing, all too quietly, a fine piece of Catholic Action," and desires that it be known and generally sought for what it is: "a splendid, well-equipped, progressive and attractive Catholic center," whose foundress "has been motivated solely to stimulate our young women to the ideal of united Catholic Action with a Catholic outlook broad enough to be not only parochial and diocesan, but also national and world-wide." Its purpose is "to cultivate in them a warm sympathy with and an intelligent appreciation of the Church's mind on vital questions of the hour, especially those which concern woman's relation to human society." His Eminence adds:

> It is to be regretted that many Catholic girls seek all that the Carroll Club provides in other centers under non-Catholic auspices that cannot be expected to inspire the Catholic ideal of life and action. The Carroll Club is the instrument through which a rich world may be opened up to the Catholic women of New York. Its program is the expression of its desire to bring health, recreation, knowledge and a sense of spiritual values to each member. . . .
>
> In New York the Carroll Club might well be the link between the smaller parish groups which are of necessity limited in scope to that larger field which sorely needs women so trained in organization and group action that they may bring an intelligent Catholic point of view to bear in community and civic affairs. The club is prepared to conduct courses in group leadership to which the pastors might send potential leaders and thus assist them in promoting parish interests. May I whole-heartedly recommend to your pastoral zeal this available Catholic center, which is in a position to serve you and your flock by helping to provide in your parish young women qualified for the Catholic Action our Holy Father so strongly urges?

Basic to the planning of the present cultural and social program which His Eminence so warmly commends, has been the widening of the original Carroll Club membership group to include two vitally important classes: junior members and associate members. The reasons for both are self-evident. The children, first of all, who are not locally provided for and would otherwise attend non-Catholic recreation centers, are entitled to what the club can give them: direction in athletics and games, and the enriching contact with the spirit and personnel of a Catholic center; but it needs no saying that they are indispensable, besides, as the future stay and sinews of the club, and that unless there is a juvenile element constantly being attracted and assimilated into it, one capital contributing strength is cut off. The associate membership is perhaps even more necessary. It attaches to the club, for that committee work, suggestion, planning and counsel which are the real dynamo of all such efforts, women beyond the active membership age of thirty: that is to say, women seasoned in work and experience, women

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of families and of the world—the group who perhaps of all social groups are nearest to the center of society and most qualified to act as interpreters of its problems and points of view.

In its individual classes, and in the sum of its spirit, atmosphere and achievements, what the club has to offer the alert Catholic professional or business woman, the alert stay-at-home, most of all the alert parish leader, is unique, so far as my information goes, in modern Catholic history.

There is, first, the matter of the setting: the beauty and character of the lounges, drawing- and ball-rooms, conference halls, library, chapel, the choice, unpublic dignity, so to put it, of appointments and furnishings, the completeness of the arrangements, the graciousness of the atmosphere—all a lesson in a certain kind of superiority, which is bound to tell and to delight. Next there is the extraordinary range of classes available, and the fact that the program is designed for indefinite additions, as the need arises. Finally, the personnel is as expert as personnel can be—most vital, most frequently neglected requirement!—and it is not small.

If our leader is interested in mastering what may be called the drawing-room gamut, she may observe and participate in a year's routine of balls, bridges, banquets, parties, teas, luncheons, passing through every shade from informal to formal, which the Social Department puts through and supervises. If she is outdoor-minded, she has her choice of professional instruction in any or all of the known sports—golf, tennis, riding, swimming, skating, hockey—and of professional supervision in all the known games; and she can go, besides, to the club's summer quarters at Pawling, New York, to see how a model camp can be run, at a moderate charge—with a glorious season's fun thrown in. She can be a social or a professional dancer, a bridge or a photography expert. She can join and observe the conduct of classes in arts and crafts, in interior decoration or in etiquette. She can study first aid, or arrange to learn the principles and approaches in the fields of child welfare and parent-teacher coöperation. She can brush up in domestic science, revive her languages or take up new ones. She can study business technique and business English, public speaking or psychology. She can sing, or play, in an especially fine glee club, or act in an especially fine dramatic society. She can have instruction provided in any other department in which she or her group are interested, deal intensively with the principles and methods of leadership, procure expert consultation on her particular group problems. And chief of all, perhaps, she can attend the Round Table conferences at which outsiders, lay and clerical, who represent eminence and authority in their subjects discuss literature and art, politics, apologetics, philosophy—the great realities which show life in its most significant aspects, or which link up for the individual Catholic his own small design with the great design in the mind of the Universal Church.

Perhaps this too summary account will yet show how admirably the club's program has been planned both to serve the individual and to fit into and energize that microcosm of activities and interests, the city parish. It is not only that these things, and others like them, are what tend to be done everywhere, for recreation or profit, and that the girls and women who are the logical leaders in the extra-religious life which gathers spontaneously around every church, are obviously helped by learning to do them as well as they can be done. They do receive, in the Carroll Club classes, the stimulus of numbers, the pleasure of contact with like minds, new suggestions for arousing interest or harnessing talent, counsel on old problems, the valuable lessons in method and approach which an expert teaching performance always holds for the keen amateur. But the club gives its members something less measurable than these things, something, I think, even more important. And in recommending it to the pastors of his diocese, His Eminence's words seem to show that he had this greater office in mind.

The club is a center: a meeting-place. Catholic interests at their broadest and Catholic work at its best are represented there; and whatever of skill, usefulness and fineness an intelligent good-will can learn from the world, is represented also. The member, the leader, is part of a life larger than her own, and larger, too—as is the law when many separate things are harmonized by a purpose—than the sum of its particular elements. She is part, not of an excellent training school, but of a going Catholic ideal. And in the quality of certain of the club's offerings, which I have not been able to more than mention here, she will experience in authentic fact that Catholic beauty and that Catholic intellectual emancipation which too few of us have experienced, though we know them to be our heritage. No one could view the play put on by the dramatic society at Christmas, for example—a thirteenth-century Miracle, produced with moving fidelity of spirit, and exquisite detail—without a throb of wonder and pride. No one could attend the Round Table conferences, growing accustomed to the intimate and privileged encounter with important personalities, and to the serious consideration of ideas, principles, art, in relation to the Catholic mind and life, and not emerge less provincial, more a citizen of the world of thought, more a Catholic. These enlarging attitudes and influences are universal; they can grow anywhere, in their measure, and they belong in our parishes. New York Catholics are fortunate beyond description in having this center which is given over to the science and dissemination of their culture.

A Shelleyan Image

Not Time, the cold destroyer, throws its beams
Upon the places of celestial light,
But through the prism-glass of holy death
Eternity sends radiance in our night.

J. G. E. Hopkins.

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THE BELLS OF SAN JACINTO: III[1]

By DON MARQUIS

(9)

Fernando was gone six months, and by chance it was Miguel who first met him on his return, while he was still a mile or two from the Señor's house.

"Did you find him—did you find Gabriel?" cried Miguel, eagerly; for the world had not been the same to him with his friend gone.

"Yes," said Fernando.

"And he is coming back! When?"

"He is not coming back," said Fernando.

Miguel was astonished. "But you gave him the Padre's letter?"

"Yes; he read it, and he tore it up. He said he was not coming back."

"That is not like Gabriel," said Miguel, puzzling.

Fernando sat down upon a stone. "Listen, Miguel," he said. "You do not understand how things are there, up North. There is a great deal of money, gaiety—good times, always, and one does as one pleases if one has money. Gabriel is very rich, now; he has found much gold. He laughed when I said that he should return; he said he was his own man now, not the Padre's man. The gringos do not look down upon him at all for being an Indian because he has so much gold. He said that we were all children here—he laughed at us; he even laughed at the Padre."

"How our Gabriel must have changed!" said Miguel, sorrowfully.

"Yes," said Fernando; "but perhaps there is something in what he said to me—that it is a good thing to have gold and always be one's own man."

Miguel looked at him and thought that Fernando himself had not changed for the better; but just then the Angelus began to ring, and Miguel bowed his head. When he looked up again at Fernando, the latter seemed disturbed.

"Does it always," he asked, "ring like that?"

Miguel had forgotten that Fernando had never heard the bell before. He had been gone when it was taken from its pit and swung in the new *campanario*.

"Why, yes," said Miguel, "it has that strange note always. The Padre says that is because of the different metals that were put into it, the gold and silver and the copper trinkets, along with the old bell-metal."

(10)

Most persons thought, now that Gabriel had left and had sent her no messages, Consuelo would marry with Fernando. But on the contrary she drew aloof from him.

"She realized, now that Gabriel had gone away, that it was Gabriel whom she loved," Miguel said.

And she began to regard Fernando with a positive aversion. She even told Miguel that she doubted that Fernando had given Gabriel the Padre's letter; she distrusted him completely. She brooded, and she was unhappy.

As for Fernando, he began to draw apart from everybody, even from the church—especially from the church. He ceased to go to confession. It was impossible for the Padre to retain him as *alcalde*. He began to absent himself from the *hacienda* for longer or shorter periods. When he was there, he would avoid the Padre as if afraid he might be influenced back into better ways. The Padre could never get hold of him. Finally the proprietor of the *hacienda* told him to stay away altogether. He was a bad influence. The former lands of San Jacinto had been bought by an American for a cattle ranch, and this American gave Fernando employment as a *vaquero*. Times were changing rapidly; more and more Americans were coming into the country. The cowboys of the American rancher were a wild lot, who drank and gambled and quarreled, and Fernando adopted their habits.

But something would draw him at times toward the *hacienda,* toward the chapel he had helped to build.

One day Miguel saw Fernando on a bluff which overlooked a little valley, gazing in the direction of the Señor's house. He was mounted upon a grey horse. He was very still, and the horse was very still as if it were of one piece with him. The bell in the distant *campanario* was ringing.

Miguel called to him. Fernando did not answer. He did not stir. Perhaps he did not hear, though Miguel called to him again and again.

It was as if a man of stone sat upon that horse," said Miguel. "Fernando had always seemed like clay to me—but now it seemed as if this clay had hardened into stone."

It was not the only time that Miguel saw him there, sometimes mounted, sometimes afoot. He came, it was evident, to listen to the bell.

"If a stone can listen," said Miguel.

(11)

And at last, the stone broke; shattered, no doubt, by the repeated vibrations of the metal. Early on the morning of a Christmas day, more than two years after the casting of the bell, there was to be a *misa del gallo* in the chapel—a Mass at the time of cock-crow.

The Indians of Fray Juan Garcia, and all the people of the *hacienda,* including Consuelo and the Señor himself, assembled while it was yet dark, called by the bell. There were a couple of hundred of them, and they stood about the little paved plaza in front of the chapel waiting for the Padre to arrive and enter the place of worship first. It was a warm morning, and it was airless, so that the yellow flames of the half-dozen

[1] This is the third and last instalment of this story.

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candles among them burned straight upward. But, as Miguel described it to me, there was the feeling of latent storm in the world; there had been thunder about midnight. The bell itself was rung by a half-grown Indian boy, who was very proud and jealous of the honor, and who would have rung it straight on for hours, always, if some one in authority had not stopped him. This morning the sound of it seemed to have a peculiarly agitating effect on those who stood about talking in undertones and waiting for their priest—or else it was some quality in the weather that touched their nerves. Miguel heard an ancient Indian mutter that he remembered mornings such as this during *el ano de los temblores,* the year of the earthquakes.

"Yes; and our bell is saying . . ." another one began to murmur. But just then Fray Juan Garcia appeared, and the crowd parted to let him through. The friar crossed the little plaza and stepped upon the wide low platform of *ladrillos* just in front of the open church door, and the others, candle-bearers and all, began to move, ranging themselves behind him.

But none of them entered the chapel. There was a cry, a cry hoarse with despair.

"Padre! Padre! Make them stop! Make them stop!"

Fray Juan Garcia turned. It was Fernando. He burst his way through the crowd, scattering it, and flung himself upon his knees at the edge of the platform, one arm cast upward with a hand that clutched and twitched. He was beside himself; a being wild and hunted.

"The bell! The bell!" he cried. "Padre, make them stop ringing the bell! Make them stop it."

The priest stared at him, and there was a quivering silence between two of the slow strokes of the bell. Everyone was silent, so silent that Miguel could hear the spluttering of the yellow candle flames that reached upward from the blackening wicks.

Then came another note of the bell, and the stroke of it shook more words from Fernando—that stone which had broken.

"It calls me," he said. "It cries my name—it cries 'Fernando, Fernando, Fernando!' "

As he spoke, the bell cried out again, and his voice mingled with it, and to everyone there the cry seemed to be *Fernando!* The despair in the voice of the man and the despair in the voice of the bell were one thing.

From the trembling Fernando himself a tremor spread to the crowd who made a ring about him, a shudder and a murmur. Only Fray Juan Garcia was absolutely still now.

"A stillness came out of him," said Miguel, "a great, listening, asking stillness, and for a minute it made everything still, even Fernando. And then came another stroke of the bell, and once more we shook with it as it cried, *Fernando!"*

What I tell you of this scene, and what I have told you before, were told to me hundreds of times by Miguel, and always without the variation of a single syllable; for those old Indians whose minds had not been weakened by too much reading and writing could remember astonishingly—they remembered their own tribal rites for hundreds of years. Sometimes I have thought that I was there myself that morning, and always when I think of it that great stillness that came out of the Padre seizes me, a stillness that listened, a stillness that asked. A stillness that would be broken by the bell that cried, *Fernando, Fernando!* and that would come again and seize upon us once more.

"Across the hills it cries to me!" cried Fernando, in agony. "Across the valleys it calls to me!"

All of them waited for what Fray Juan Garcia would say. But he did not speak. Slowly he raised the great iron crucifix and held it up. The church door behind him was black, for no candles had been lighted inside; but there was a wash of yellow light upon the front walls of the chapel. High he lifted the iron crucifix, and he himself seemed more iron than ever—tall, wide, strong, iron—and out of the iron gleamed the fire of those eyes of his.

There was a long hush as he raised the crucifix, and Fernando turned up his face toward it—a hush that lasted through several strokes of the bell, and then Fernando cried out, shaking so that the scar upon his forehead glittered in the candle-night:

"No! No! Do not ask me that—I cannot answer, do not ask me that!"

The strangeness of this caught hold of them all, and they gasped as the import of Fernando's words went into their minds—for he was saying that he could not answer a question, and no one had asked him any question. Fray Juan Garcia had spoken no word.

"Oh, I will tell you—I will tell you!" cried Fernando. "I will answer you! It is Gabriel who calls my name!"

Fernando, cried the bell; *Fernando, Fernando!*

And Fernando went on answering questions, which no one else heard.

"It is Gabriel, who cries out to me as he cried that night—he cries, 'Fernando, Fernando, Fernando'—always, as he cried that night."

And then, as if someone had asked him what night, he said: "The night we cast the bell."

It is not strange that Miguel and the others should have thought and said that God was asking these questions of Fernando and that he could not help but answer them. Myself, I might call it a psychic state resulting from the man's bad conscience, and say that it was the mind of Fray Juan Garcia which seized upon the mind of Fernando and made him answer aloud in the hearing of all men the questions which the Padre asked in the silence of his thoughts.

This one small spot before the church had all the light which there was in the vast, dark morning. It must have seemed as if the sky listened, the fading stars listened. And the far mountains to the east which began to be tipped with a red dawn that had not yet spilled down into the plains below, they listened, too—it must have seemed as if the breathless attention of the

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whole wide universe were focused upon this little plaza with its splash of yellow candle-light, upon the dominant and concentrated priest whose mind held the man before him in its strong and mystic grip. Heaven and earth hushed themselves, drew nearer in a ring of shadow palpitant with mystery, leaned close to hear; and it is little wonder that all men thought God asked the questions which Fernando answered. And the rhythm of this eery inquiry, the ebb and flow of its inescapable compulsion, was marked and punctuated by the throbbing of the ceaseless bell. Across the abysms of eternity's listening silence came this sound to help beat down and break the stubborn barriers of iniquity.

"Yes," said Fernando, "I killed him."

Then he lied. He said, cringing: "It was an accident! It was an accident! I did not mean to kill him."

But with the next note of the bell he broke again, and his silent questioner drew out of him a cry of truth and anguish—the bell called his name, the Infinite held him to the truth.

"I cannot lie to God!" he cried. "It was not an accident; we quarreled, and I killed him! I meant to kill him! I cannot lie to God."

There was an audible gasp ran around the circle of the listeners; they had begun to realize this already, but it shook them when they heard it from the lips of Fernando himself. I do not know, but it may be that the Padre did not wish this tale of Fernando's to come to him in the confessional so that his lips would be sealed; perhaps he thought it would be more truly beneficial for the soul of Fernando if he told his crime first to all the world.

"When I struck him," said Fernando, "he cried my name—he cried, 'Fernando, Fernando,' and that is what I always hear."

There was a pause, a pause as long as three or four strokes of this great bell here, and then Fernando said in a muffled voice: "Yes; in the metal itself." He fingered the scar upon his forehead as he spoke. And when he touched it Miguel heard the Señor say to himself: "That is the mark of Cain."

The dawn came over the hills and put the candles out, and slanted across the still figure of the great iron priest with the fire blazing from the caverns of his eyes. He looked down upon Fernando where he groveled. He lowered the crucifix. Fernando rose to his knees. What the Padre was about to say and do, no one ever knew. For at that instant Consuelo, who had hung motionless in the shadow, shook off the weight of stillness from her wings, and swooped—she swooped and struck like a sudden hawk. Flashing forward, she buried a knife between Fernando's shoulders. There was an instant when the smitten minds of those who witnessed stayed their hands, and none moved to touch her. She lifted her head toward the *campanario* and flung back a sobbing cry against the clamor of the bell; and then, while all shrank back from before her, she broke through the circle and fled out into the early day, gone forever.

COUNT ALBERT APPONYI

By ROBERT DU CHALIEU

IN 1904, ten years before the World War, a tall, straight-shouldered man, with distinguished features and kindly grey eyes, addressed the Senate of the United States. Count Albert Apponyi of Hungary was the third foreigner after Lafayette and Kossuth to be honored with that privilege by the American government. Twenty years later, after one of his speeches before the Council of the League of Nations, a delegate of the Little Entente exclaimed, "Happy is the country that enjoys the services of such a statesman." This spontaneous recognition from a bitter antagonist gives a clear idea of the ineffable worth of the "great old man of European politics," perhaps better than the honors heaped on him, which he accepted with characteristic humility.

Count Albert Apponyi was born in 1846, two years before the bid for freedom of the Hungarian patriots who rose in arms to the call of Kossuth and the stirring tunes of the "Talpra Magyar" of Petofi. After the surrender of Kossuth's army to the outnumbering forces of Austrian troops and their allies, the regular regiments and numberless Cossack sotnias of Czar Nicholas I, the Hungarians with fierce obduracy maintained their national identity under Austrian rule.

But the echo of the struggle did not embitter the ripening intelligence of Albert Apponyi. For his childhood and adolescence were passed under the influence of the sane traditions of his father, Chancellor and later Supreme Justice of the Kingdom of Hungary, the faith of his mother, and the wise tutoring of the Jesuits of Kalksburg, Austria, who, without opposing his devotion to the Hungarian cause, enabled him also to understand Austria and the whole world and its needs. As a result, when he was sent into foreign lands to broaden his knowledge, he quickly assimilated the best. Particularly valuable to him proved the friendship of Montalembert, who was at that time the leader of the Catholic party of France.

Today one seldom hears of the Catholic leaders whose work was crowned by so many achievements under Napoleon III. Yet they were the ones who brought about the conquest and colonization of Algeria, corner-stone of the French Colonial Empire, who made civilian France so basically sound and prosperous that the war indemnity imposed by the Prussians was paid in record time, while a few months after the withdrawal of the last German troops industry and trade blossomed all over France stronger than ever. Also, foreseeing the unemployment that would be some day an aftermath of the overdevelopment of machinery, they had conceived a system of social care for the poor and the unfortunate and rules which were more beneficial than the later Socialistic theories.

Young Apponyi studied their system thoroughly, and found in it a practical demonstration that the doctrines of the Church, when applied to economic every-day problems by energetic believers, favor progress and social justice.

When he eventually returned to Hungary, he found that with the retirement from public life of the leader of the Conservative party, Baron Sennyey, he was by family prestige and other important factors Sennyey's logical successor. The Conservative party had undergone a curious evolution. By birth-right at home in the court of Vienna, Baron Sennyey and his associates had followed closely the secrets of the chanceries of the world, and saw that the government of the czars was spending enormous sums of money to launch a Pan-Slav policy of infiltration and propaganda which menaced to submerge all Southeastern Europe under a Slav tidal wave. That convinced them that

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Hungary had better compromise with Austria, and that the Austro-Hungarian Empire had everything to gain from a rapprochment with Germany. This diplomacy secured them an ever-increasing authority in European affairs, but they lost contact with their Hungarian constituents.

Albert Apponyi, learned in music, had the intuition of an artist, which rendered him capable of feeling the mood of private individuals and the spirit of the masses, while his ability as a speaker gave him a means of convincing them. That explained his success in recapturing that popularity which had slipped from the grasp of the Conservative party.

But, as he conquered Hungarian national spirit, Hungarian ideals and needs appealed to his chivalrous, generous soul so strongly that he preferred the cause of the unselfish, noblemen patriots of Hungary and the humble folks of the great Hungarian plains, to that of the all-powerful court of Vienna. Gradually his party became the great national party of Hungary. The court of Vienna concluding that there was everything to gain by coming to terms with a man like Apponyi, Emperor Franz Joseph called him to Vienna.

The seat of the rulers of the Danubian Empire had become a trifle old and sad. That center of a refined and sophisticated caste of courtier-statesmen, in whose veins ran a mixed blood of the major races of Danubia, had become depressed by sixty years of struggle: against revolutions in the interior, the long Italian wars, the conflicts with the French of Napoleon III and with Prussia, which had become an ally after wresting away from Austria the confederation of the south and the states of Germany, and finally the endless, undercover attacks of the myriads of spies in the pay of Russia.

The court party was ready to give way to Hungarian demands on all points except one, the leadership of the army, which they wanted to maintain strictly under Austrian control. As a reward for that single but all important concession, the Emperor offered to Count Apponyi the chancellorship of the empire. Though "the temptation was great," as Apponyi said later, his sense of duty as a Christian and patriot caused him to renounce this fulfilment of his fondest ambitions. The Emperor is reported to have said, after Apponyi left the historical audience: "I am greatly disappointed and yet I expected just such an answer from a man of such exemplary morals. I should have known that power meant for him only the possibility to fulfil a duty according to his beliefs and his conscience as a Christian."

The following years saw the partial triumph of the program of the Hungarian national party. In the meantime Apponyi became a friend of the empire, an advocate of a closer cooperation between Hungary and Austria.

To explain this point, one must take into consideration the Hungarian conception of monarchy and government. In Hungary noblemen had their titles originally by recognition of their followers. Therefore their ancestral prestige is a national one because it is due to the wish of the nation rather than to the favor of a ruler. In the same way the king rules as a mandatary of the Hungarian people. Having recognized the rights of the Hungarians and being their ruler as King of Hungary and not as Emperor of Austria, Franz Joseph had become the legitimate head of the Hungarian nation. Therefore Apponyi's activities were not against his rule, but against the forces which opposed the welfare of Hungary.

The World War came, and brought about a disintegration of the Austrian Empire. The so-called "peace treaties" of Versailles, St. Germain and Trianon paralyzed whatever hope Danubia had to recuperate from the ravages of the war by building a new system of nations which was based more on allied friendship than on the actual needs of the concerned people. From that un-Catholic peace emerged Czechoslovakia, Jugoslavia and an unduly overgrown Rumania—as rulers of three million Magyars wrested from their mother country.

Count Albert Apponyi represented Hungary at the Treaty of Trianon. No doubt on that occasion he felt almost a longing for the gilded figures of the court of Schonbrunn, who had been stubborn and yet chivalrous adversaries, and the weight of that grim hour must have been a terrific burden on his disillusioned and advanced years, sustained however by the comfort of faith. Unable to stop the mutilation of his country, he was at least successful in securing the integrity of her central part.

On his return to Hungary he witnessed the unhappy postwar period, the struggle to survive of a race which had been robbed of all her industrial resources, and even of her rolling stock. After the unhappy Bolshevik outbreak led by Bela Kun, which was first weakened by an unsuccessful war against Rumania and then stamped out by heroic regular troops rallied and led by His Highness the Regent, Admiral Horthy de Nagybanya, Apponyi was intrusted with the parliamentary reconstruction of the Hungarian constituency. His work was crowned by such success and public approval that in 1921 while he was still living, the Hungarian government had a commemorative target carved in his honor, and fastened to a public monument.

It seemed as if the purity of Apponyi's spirit defied his age. This tall, white-haired octogenarian had the clarity of mind and the alert bearing of a man twenty years younger. Consequently although the Hungarian government gave him a substantial sum of money to insure him a comfortable retirement, when in 1923 Hungary was admitted to membership in the League of Nations, he was ready to answer the call and to lead the Hungarian delegation.

As was to be expected, they found a glacial reception. The delegates of the main European powers saw in them the representatives of the only country which was formerly a part of the Central Empires, Germany not having been yet admitted to the League's Council. And the representatives of the Little Entente proved decidedly antagonistic because they feared that Hungary, through her delegation, would come to the help of her sons and former citizens who were now at loggerheads with their Czech, Jugoslav and Rumanian rulers.

Apponyi, the true Christian, did not cry for vindication. He tried to convey the idea that the progress of our age called for international coöperation and brotherhood rather than for strife, which insured only temporary triumph to the strongest. For the Hungarian minorities under foreign rule he did not ask reunion to their fatherland, but invoked in their favor all those clauses of the Treaty of Trianon which allowed an interpretation liable to help their plight. He announced to the League of Nations that Hungary was willing to forego the past and to collaborate in upholding a form of civilization which does not know borders nor racial antagonisms, and therefore is the only worthy one in the eyes of God. This was not the first time that he had advocated such a viewpoint, for even the principle of the League of Nations was derived from an ideal he had advanced in the middle of the nineteenth century: that of interparliamentary union of all white nations as the best means to eliminate war, dangerous rivalries and commercial strifes of major gravity.

Now Apponyi is dead. But his work still lives and continues to bring its salutary fruits, and his very personality remains as

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an example of a nobility of mind and a purity of morals and ideals which unfortunately are rare among modern statesmen.

Catholics can proudly point him out, with the late Monsignor Seipel, priest and Chancellor of Austria, as a product of Catholic thought and Catholic education. And the work and achievements of these two men are all the greater because they had little help from their wounded, mutilated countries, while the Allied statesmen who dictated the peace of Versailles had all the cards in their hands and the backing of their victorious armies, yet succeeded only in building a system based on partiality and brute force which today renders their nations as uneasy as the sorely handicapped ones of the former Central Empires.

COMMUNICATIONS

DIAGNOSING INFLATION

Brooklyn, N. Y.

TO the Editor: In an editorial of the March 8 edition of this year, you expressed your views on inflation. It is not because you are opposed to inflation that I find cause to write, but rather on account of your critical judgment of those who are in favor of the idea.

In your very first sentence, it is apparent that you are unfamiliar with Father Coughlin's plan of inflation. You assume that because the President is committed to a balanced budget, and a stable currency, that he is of necessity opposed to inflation. A stable currency means no more than, that each dollar is worth one hundred cents. Now let us see if we can have inflation and a stable currency at the same time. As long as the dollar is worth one hundred cents, there is nothing to worry about. At the present time gold is worth $20.67 an ounce. This country has about $4,500,000,000 in gold. According to all laws of economics, it is absolutely safe to issue $2.50 in paper or silver to every $1.00 in gold that we have in the Treasury. Further, it is safe to have but $12.00 debt outstanding against each $1.00 in gold. These are facts that cannot be disputed. The total indebtedness of this country is estimated to be more than $200,000,000,000, which means that our debt ratio is about fifty to one instead of twelve to one. If we revaluated gold so that it was worth $41.34, what would happen? First of all, our nation debt ratio would be cut in half, and we would be able to issue billions of dollars in currency, and still remain within the ratio of two and one-half to one. It would then be possible to pay off the holders of Liberty Bonds, which are costing the taxpayer $400,000,000 a year. A dollar would still be worth one hundred cents, or I should say would again be worth one hundred cents, as the present dollar is worth anywhere from one hundred and fifty cents to two hundred and ten cents.

The case of Germany should not be accepted seriously by anyone of intelligence, for the simple reason that Germany had no gold in its Treasury when it issued paper money in 1923. It is the argument of the international bankers who want to keep gold as a medium of control instead of making it a medium of exchange. They have controlled the gold of the world long enough, and the public is fed up with their advice on how to bring back prosperity. From now on the wealth of this country will be for the masses instead of for the few.

May I suggest that the above statement be printed in THE COMMONWEAL, so that others will read it, and express their views?

Wishing you continued success with your publication which I enjoy very much, I am.

LAWRENCE JOSEPH BYRNE.

NEW LIGHT ON BIRTH CONTROL

Paris, France.

TO the Editor: I have just read, in your issue of March 8, Mr. Smothers's article, "New Light on Birth Control." I have read it with astonishment. Not because the facts on which this article is based were unknown to me, or because I am averse to its trend. Even as a student I thought with Dr. Koch that the essence of matrimony is less the procreation of children than—to use his own words—"the undivided community of life led by husband and wife." And many times I have felt indignation at the unconscious cruelty with which unimaginative priests would give two poor workers cooped up in one room no alternative between damnation or an impossible increase of family.

My astonishment arises from the contrast—which I have no doubt non-Catholic periodicals will notice—between Mr. Smothers's article and those on the same subject previously published in THE COMMONWEAL. The stress in those contributions was on the immorality and dangers of contraception. In Mr. Smothers's article it is on the advisability and practical inevitability of contraception. For the deliberate and scientific avoidance of conception in marital relations may be called by any Latin or Greek name, but to people unused to theological subtleties, it will appear as mere contraception. Many, after reading Mr. Smothers's pages, will think that, if the calendar can be an innocent contraceptive, contraceptives in general cannot be so very wrong. A reticent but perfectly clear debate between two Catholic women concerning this can too easily be imagined.

The chief fault I find with Mr. Smothers's article is its tone. It sounds like a vindication of contraception, in fact is a vindication of contracted families, but at the state at which we are in the discussion of this subject, a plea would be more appropriate. Unquestionably the tone of the formerly abused resolution of the Anglican bishops on the same subject was more productive of the right atmosphere than this triumphant demonstration.

In the second place, I miss in Mr. Smothers's article, as I always missed in theological disquisitions, the clear statement that there can be no legitimate marital relations without love, real love; that is to say, a sentiment antecedent and superior to sexuality even if it leads to union. Intimacy that is not regulated by the heart is what Bernard Shaw says it is in terms which I do not wish to recall.

As long as the nobility and purity of love is not recognized from theological chairs and church pulpits, Catholic teaching will oscillate between the preaching of unwelcome duty and unconvincing denunciations. Psychological facts have to be faced like all others. Now is the time to repeat with George Sand that deception in love—self-deception—is a mortal sin even in marriage. Otherwise, in the train of contraception the so-called "right to love," i.e., right to pleasure, will come, and no more deadly poison than that can be injected into the life of the community as well as of the individual.

ERNEST DIMNET.

THESES AND TEACHERS

Wilmington, Del.

TO the Editor: Far be it from me to take sides against Reverend Father Donnelly, S.J., who has been my inspiration for nearly two decades, but Mr. John Flynn's comments on Father Donnelly's article, "Theses and Teachers," in THE COMMONWEAL, March 1, are both arresting and stimulating.

To minimize, as we have been doing, the co-relation between history and literature, is to ignore a fundamental principle in

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pedagogy which Father Donnelly upholds in many places in his "Literary Art and Modern Education." For instance, on page 147 one reads: ". . . the educational world today, everywhere accepts history as an instrument of teaching." To be life, literature must be real and earnest. Why, then, should students not be taught to trace its sources, its evolution? Why not discuss both? In what other way can one proceed from the known to the unknown? H. G. Wells is the best argument for "creation and art," and that makes him a good novelist. Will Durant is another anti-historian, but who would go to either for real literature? There are some fiction writers who have given us real literature, but the germ of the modern novel was found in verse and prose of the nations; it had its beginning in the popular tales and ballads. One goes back to Erasmus's "Colloquies," Cervantes's "Don Quixote," Sidney's "Arcadia," even for fictional writing. Take Chesterton's "The Ballad of the White Horse" (really an epic in subject-matter), what does it mean to a student who knows nothing of the struggle between Alfred the Great and the Danes?

I am only trying to show, that Father Donnelly and Mr. Flynn are really of one mind on the "teaching value" of history, which is based on the principle of scholastic philosophy, i.e., *Operatio est perfectio esse:* If a thing functions, it is perfect ("Literary Art and Modern Education," page 148). Father Donnelly's article is concerned with students' theses, and the teachers. For the latter, I heartily agree with Mr. Flynn, that were more consideration given to the time and place elements (history) of our literature, its development, its landmarks of excellence, there would result a deeper and more positive reaction against the haziness of modern writing. (I hope my irrelevancy may be pardoned, but I cannot keep silent on the style (creation and art) of Paul Elmer More, Irving Babbitt and W. C. Brownell. Especially should American Catholic writers become better acquainted with More, of the new school of Humanism.) We Catholics should be more concerned about these writers and their writing. We cannot afford to be unaware of their influence.

Finally, I welcome the suggestion Mr. Flynn makes, to let aspiring writers in on the knowledge that is hoarded away in university libraries. Let the graduates go to the primary sources, and let them dip their pens into the crystal fountains of truth, weigh and examine human experience without let or hindrance from the keeper of the keys.

If the teacher has thoroughly prepared the graduate for the writing of his thesis, the latter should be ready to apply the art of composition to an original piece of creative writing.

Isn't this what Father Donnelly and Mr. Flynn have in mind?

MOTHER AGATHA, O.S.U.

Ivanhoe, Minn.

TO the Editor: Under Communications in THE COMMONWEAL of March 1, Mr. Flynn feels that "Father Donnelly's attitude ['Theses and Teachers,' in THE COMMONWEAL of February 1], toward . . . thesis work . . . is too severe." Then he tells us that "clarity, precision and accuracy should constitute the style of every thesis, and further demands are unnecessary and misplaced."

Now, I can grant that "the modern thesis," with its bare, statistical rehearsal of facts, can effect precision and accuracy; but I must ask him just how it effects clarity.

No, I still think that Father Donnelly's attitude is not severe enough.

ALFRED SPELTZ.

EDUCATE THE POLITICIAN

Chicago, Ill.

TO the Editor: I was very much interested in reading Mr. Herman Block's article in the March 15 issue of THE COMMONWEAL, on educating the politician. Mr. Block evidently is a part of that illustrious company of political scientists who believe that one of the most necessary reforms in the American system of government is the increasing employment and use of the expert in government. At the same time, however, I believe that he is looking for expertness in offices where it cannot for many reasons be introduced. The elected official, by the very fact that he is elected by people who are not experts themselves and have little knowledge of what constitutes expertness, will be not only an amateur but a politician as well, and after all what is the politician but a person who is expected to frame policies. I have no fear of a system that places amateurs in high elected office. My fear as well as the fear of many administrators I know is that the amateur will not have a competent body of full-time experts in civil service to guide him. There should have been at Mr. Block's command a full-time legal expert to give him the necessary information on public law. It is because of the fact that in this country we have allowed amateurs and politicians to run our administrative departments of government that our well-intentioned executives have been without necessary guidance and information.

Mr. Block, no doubt, knows something of the English civil service. A study of that reveals that it is possible to have amateurs and politicians in executive offices as in the Cabinet posts, but it also reveals that these matters are guided by a full-time permanent civil service recruited on a basis of examination. Was it not Lord Palmerston who on taking over the post of Prime Minister could find no one suitable for the position of Minister of the Colonies, and who said to one of the staff of the foreign office, "Let us go upstairs so that you can show me on a map where these colonies are, and I'll take the post"? Palmerston knew that he could depend upon the accumulation of wisdom and expert guidance in the foreign office. It is that same wisdom that should be available in our administrative departments in the nation, in the states, and in the municipalities. After all is not that the solution for the difficulty which Mr. Block so ably describes in his article?

JEROME G. KERWIN.

A PLEA FOR PLAINSONG

Philadelphia, Pa.

TO the Editor: Laicus Ignotus is right when he says the underlying difficulty in restoring plainsong is lack of familiarity with the Church's sacred liturgy among the laity. Catholics need badly a thorough education in their own liturgy.

Cannot THE COMMONWEAL see this pressing need? Why not stimulate interest in the liturgy by running a short explanation each week of the Mass of the following Sunday. Most Catholics have an idea the Mass prayers are for the priest only and are content to be "mute spectators," without any understanding or appreciation of the Mass.

It is true it is utterly impossible to concentrate on the Mass while the organ is playing popular tunes heard in the movie houses, or when the congregation is reciting aloud the rosary all through Mass as is customary in so many churches during October. But after all that is merely a makeshift way to keep the "mute spectators" devotional. One cannot love something one does not know. Why not stimulate an interest in liturgy?

MARY T. GEST.

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THE PLAY

By RICHARD DANA SKINNER

Run, Little Chillun!

HALL JOHNSON, head of the famous Hall Johnson Choir, has written a Negro folk drama which, in spite of some extraordinarily fine dramatic material, presents a vast confusion of ideas. Superficially, it is supposed to depict the struggle between ago-old nature-worshiping instincts in the Negro and the particular brand of Baptist Christianity which the Negro of the South has so largely adopted. It has even been compared to "Green Pastures" for its richness of spiritual content. Underneath this surface aspect, however, it really identifies rather than distinguishes these two expressions of the Negro. It leaves one with the impression that the Baptist revival meeting differs very little from the pagan orgy in the forest in honor of the moon, at least in emotional quality. In each case there are extreme pathological symptoms evoked through music and rhythm.

The play tells the story of the son of a Baptist preacher who is drawn away from his wife and his church by his love for a girl from the poor section. This girl who, incidentally, combines many good and bad qualities and is not wholly a village Jezebel, induces him to go with her to a forest meeting of the New Day Pilgrims, an itinerant nature-worshiping sect, led by an old mystic and a handsome young ascetic. The ceremonies in honor of the moon begin with a slow and dignified ritual, to the accompaniment of songs which, as the young priest explains, date back thousands of years into the race consciousness of the Negro. This dignified prelude is followed by chants in honor of the unity of man and nature, and then by dances which before long reach the proportions of an utterly unrestrained orgy—possibly one of the most literal transcriptions of animalism ever produced on our stage.

The second half of the play relates the struggles of the young preacher's son to return to the fold. Although the girl is going to have a baby by him, she has also been fascinated by the young priest of the New Day Pilgrims, and the Pilgrims themselves, fearing her influence, have forbidden her to return to their meetings. The climax comes in a revival meeting at the Hope Baptist Church where prayers and exhortations are raised for the return of the wandering sheep, where the experiences of sinners in the congregation are recounted amid song and hysteria, where the boy suddenly rushes in to be reclaimed in his father's arms and where, following him, the girl of the lowlands is struck dead by lightning.

It is quite true that the Baptist meeting is infused with a humble spirit of reliance upon God. But it is all too easy to trace the identity of emotional impulse with the earlier scenes in the forest, the mounting excitement with the musical rhythms, the almost trance-like abandonment of the congregation, the dancing and shrieking and fainting. Perhaps it is intended to indicate sublimation of the primitive instincts, but it is certanly not sublimation in the sense of a more disciplined use of emotion. The emotions are directed into a less obviously sensual channel, but the quality of the emotions, that is, their lack of restraint, remains the same. One is a materialistic orgy, the other a spiritual orgy, if you will. But the element of orgy is common to both. That is where the vast confusion lies. The letter and the symbol are different, but not the spirit.

There is tremendous theatrical power, of course, in many of the scenes of this play, greatly enhanced by the special music which Hall Johnson has written for the various scenes, and by the expert direction of the large Negro cast. There is also individual acting of a very high order. Moreover, I would be the last to impute any dubious motives to the author. But the fact remains that his sense of what makes superlatively good "theatre" has far outweighed his sense of what makes impressive drama, and has quite obliterated his sense of what makes for better understanding of the simpler and finer spiritual qualities of the Negro. One could leave this play saying that the Negro's religious instinct is confined solely to emotional excitement. And that, I am convinced, is a serious calumny. It is quite as if we were to take the worship of Pan as the sole symbol of the civilization of Greece. (At the Lyric Theatre.)

The Shakespeare Theatre

AMONG the more courageous feats of this year of discontent, we cannot fail to list the establishment (whether temporary or permanent remains to be seen) of a Shakespeare theatre in New York. Under the direction of Percival Vivian and with the coöperation of a capable and devoted group of actors, this center of classical drama has been quietly generating something of honest value. With top price of one dollar and minimum price of twenty-five cents, it has met the economic position of Shakespeare enthusiasts squarely. It has done more, however. It has provided good Shakespeare.

Of late years, we have had a great deal of elaborate Shakespeare that was not good Shakespeare. The distinction is important. For Shakespeare has to be given in the raw to be palatable, simply and directly and without mannerism. A Shakespeare play is not a religious ceremony to be intoned, nor is it a quaint antiquity to be presented with precious fidelity to Elizabethan manners and restrictions. If it is worth giving at all, it is worth giving as a play for the modern theatre and the modern audience, and neither as a vehicle for some scenic designer nor as a megaphone for some stellar "interpreter." Shakespeare wrote his plays for the people. Some of them were exceedingly great, others were merely good, and some were poor except for illuminated passages. But they still belong to the people they were written to please. The Shakespeare Theatre seems to have understood that elementary fact.

A recent performance of "Macbeth" illustrates the point. The scenic setting was a simple triple arch, with a back drop to convert it into an interior or exterior at will. The costumes were literal. The lighting effects were modern and effective—especially so in the witches' cavern. The acting was well balanced. There were numerous cuts in the text, all of them sensible. The performance moved swiftly and with fine impact in the climaxes. Most important of all, the play emerged as exciting drama, unimpeded by either false reverence or faked antiquity. Curtis Cooksey's Macbeth, happily enough, was a human being who never once thought of himself as a figure of high classic tragedy. Richard Maibaum's Macduff was a real father of a family whose wife and children had been killed. Mary Hone made you feel that Lady Macbeth's lady-in-waiting was honestly concerned about her mistress's strange behavior. In other words, the actors happened to believe in their parts, with a surprisingly pleasant result. The Shakespeare Theatre deserves well of New York—which means large audiences and a chance to become permanent.

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BOOKS

Engineers as a Vested Interest

The Engineers and the Price System, by Thorstein Veblen. New York: Viking Press. $1.50.

THE MODERN industrial system, says Mr. Thorstein Veblen in this monograph—now republished after almost twelve years, in the flood of publicity of its seeming protagonist, technocracy—is essentially a system of absentee ownership "managed with an eye single to the largest obtainable net return in terms of price" at the cost of whom it may concern; in general, the underlying population. This businesslike requirement on price makes necessary a "conscientious withdrawal of efficiency," a sabotage of production, and the delivery to the consuming public of only that minimum amount of goods which is just sufficient to take up its total purchasing power. Unfortunately for absentee owners, the continued growth of the system involved the development of technological processes and, more importantly, of technical thought centered mainly on tangible performance. The wastes, "lags, leaks and frictions," inherent in business sabotage, are contrary to technical aims; and the efforts toward their reduction, begun to improve the position of one business over another, have ended in the conviction among at least the younger engineers that business and technology are mutually contradictory. Thus the vested right of absentee ownership is threatened and by a group which cannot be brought to heel, since its united action by general strike can cripple the system. A revolutionary overturn by this means seems the only possible threat to existing privilege since the engineers alone are able to run the industrial system when they have hold of it. It will come, if at all, without violence, through the "self-made, though reluctant abdication of the vested interests and their absentee owners"; "they will, in a sense, eliminate themselves, by letting go quite involuntarily after the industrial system gets quite beyond their control."

The first of the two main lines of preparation in ensuring this end, "an inquiry into existing conditions and into the available ways and means," is foreshadowed in the energy survey of North America now being conducted by technocracy; the second, the setting up of practical organization tables and a survey of the existing personnel, would probably be carried on under cover.

This in brief is Mr. Veblen's theme for the "disallowance" of the vested interests. It will be seen that it rests on two premises, the first that business conducted under the modern rules is unstable and in course of time must dissolve, if only because of self-corruption, the second that the system by which it is replaced, if it is to be permanent, must be based on a full command of all productive resources and their working for human welfare.

As to the first, no one at the present day in public or in private seems to be in doubt; the phenomenal interest in technocracy is in very good evidence. But as to the second it is doubtful if Veblen has given the whole story. How, in the first place, can he not have seen that, without checks from the underlying population, his rule by engineers is merely another vested interest, the engineering mind, pure in discontent, being as subject to power-aberration as any other! It is always hard to catch a vested interest, so multiple are its disguises, so appealing are its justifications, and possibly to a starving public a technocracy promising to deliver the goods may seem harmless enough; nevertheless, from another source, the public may be reminded that "the real struggle is to take place not as to the necessity of these controls [of production and distribution], but as to whether they shall be in the hands of the producer or consumer." Stated in Veblen's terms, the cure for vested interests for the few is vested interests for the many.

It is the more surprising that he failed to reach this conclusion in view of his own remarks on the factors of production in an early chapter; he says: "Seen in the light of later events this threefold plan of coördinate factors [land, labor and capital] is notable for what it omits. It assigns no productive effect to the industrial arts, for example, for the conclusive reason that the state of the industrial arts *yields no stated or ratable income to any one class of persons* [italics mine]; it affords no legal claim to a share in the community's yearly production of goods. The state of the industrial arts is a joint stock of knowledge derived from past experience, and is held and passed on as an indivisible possession of the community at large."

Unfortunately this is pursued no further, though the implications are extraordinary. For it is just the amazing progress in the industrial arts which is responsible for the present enormous productivity of machine production; and it is the neglect in the distribution of the corresponding income, which may be called a national or community dividend, which is responsible for the present anomaly of privation and starvation accompanying this glut of goods. It was left to a later economist, C. H. Douglas, of England, to establish the connection through the study of credit.

"Credit," says Veblen, "is also one of the timeworn institutions that are due to suffer obsolescence by improvement." This cuts at the very root of the matter. The main way by which absentee ownership is ensured is in the control of credit; the abuses of absentee ownership are essentially comprised under the effects of a monopoly of credit whose main principle is that of short supply. And, finally, the hope of the underlying population to a share in its government and in the fruits of association in the industrial system lies in the creation of such a credit system as will enable it to transmit its wishes to government and the industrial system, and have them respected. This is only to say that political democracy without economic democracy is a sham.

Veblen may have had the short view that vested rights vanished with their legal claims; some such thought is suggested in his proposal to destroy all corporate securities. This is to mistake the symbol for the thing. Credits and rights of one kind or another are necessarily involved in coöperative enterprise; they persist when documentary evidence has vanished. The proper order is: destroy the vested rights of the few (by creating vested rights for the many) and the claims will vanish of themselves.

Hence the primary economic question is: how is credit created and distributed? In the present instance, granted engineers are competent to produce the needed economic goods, by what principle do they propose to distribute them? Will they produce to order or by fiat? Without clear answers to these questions, the transfer of the control of industry from its present holders to the engineers is, in Major Douglas's phrase, to flee the devil we know for the devil we know not.

Two printings of the book have been issued in as many months and it bids fair to be a winter best seller. Certainly it is all to the good that, even if only posthumously, this master of corrosive irony should have a wide public. His inversion of the orthodoxy of business enterprise, his economy of discontent, as one economist has put it, is a necessary correlative to the apologia of things as they are, even while coming no closer to that purely dynamic ideal of society which affords the maximum individual freedom consistent with stability of coöperative effort.

JOHN RIORDAN.

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The House of God

Church Architecture: Building for a Living Faith, by Frank Brannach. Milwaukee: Bruce.

THE CHURCH building, the shrine of the Presence of God, and the setting of the formal acts of our religion, should be as dignified and beautiful as it is within our ability to make it. Even if this were not evident to reason, there is the authority of Scripture and the example of the Church through all the ages to assure us of its importance and truth. The principle no doubt is universally accepted; it is the ability to apply it that is too often lacking. As a stimulant to a growth of knowledge and appreciation of architecture among those who control the building of our churches, Frank Brannach, a priest himself, offers the fruit of his extensive study of architectural criticism and history in his work, "Church Architecture: Building for a Living Faith."

His interest in architecture is keen, yet he prefers to approach his subject from the standpoint of a liturgist who is chiefly concerned in the service it can offer the Church. This approach will make his message more acceptable and convincing to those who looked somewhat coldly upon the inception of the Liturgical Movement as being merely an artistic attitude not serving any especial religious purpose. And it in no way diminishes the value of the book as a stimulant to a widened general interest in ecclesiastical art, nor does it impair the weight of his well-founded and temperate suggestions to architects concerning the present trends and future development of their art.

He briefly describes the history and characteristics of the familiar styles of church architecture, appraises their particular qualities, and considers the extent to which they have been successfully adapted to modern use. He extends the discussion to a review of our more original modern work, dividing it into categories in order more clearly to point out the merits and faults of its tendencies. These comments are sound in principle and, with some exceptions, in application also. They are all based on the premise that worthy architecture can only arise from the sincerity and artistic skill in which the structure and its adornment are conceived. He emphasizes the distinction between the successful result of the proper application of this principle, and the gaudy counterfeit of beauty exhibited in the sham construction and inept decoration of many of our older churches.

Few, of course, would fail in choosing between the extremes of this contrast, particularly when a comparison can be made between completed buildings. But it requires a more than usually well developed aesthetic sense to avoid mediocrity and to choose excellence with assurance, for a new building. The author hopes to further the development of this sense, particularly among the clergy, who so frequently are required to apply it. But since it must arise from innate perception, and can grow only in the presence of successful aesthetic achievement, it requires the effort of the individual himself to acquire or to enlarge it. It cannot be infused from without in the shape of a system of formulae nor compended in a manual for consultation when occasion requires. Therefore, the many formulated precepts the author proposes, in so far as they may be considered such a manual, add but little to the real value of the book. Some of these precepts unfortunately are of questionable authority, and even those that are soundly derived will be of very little help to a priest in controlling or improving the work of his architect. They cannot be expected to replace the architect's inspiration and his intuitive interpretation of it, which are much more reliable guides to artistic success. The work will inevitably be cold and lifeless if it must be checked and

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NEXT WEEK

The inside story of Wall Street, might well describe the first instalment of John Moody's LONG ROAD HOME which THE COMMONWEAL is privileged to publish for the sure and thoroughgoing enjoyment of its readers. This is rich! It is a corking personal narrative of a successful and shrewd man who has also, to an extraordinary degree, the great common divisor of simplicity and a sense of humor. Wall Street was for him the path through the pasture and the woods down to the old swimming hole of the rural-raised boy. The pool he and his young chums knew, was a pool of ten-share lots in a special railroad stock, which they handled through a bucket shop. The great figures who made Wall Street what she was—not what she is today—are seen in their shirt sleeves. Politics play their part. Mr. Moody whose famous investment service is familiarly known as the "Bible of Wall Street" tells a rarely fascinating and likable story here which should delight all the loyal regular readers of THE COMMONWEAL and also a good swath of the rest of the public who are interested in the realities of the making of their country. . . . EPISTLE FOR LENT, by Michael Williams, is a foray upon the *American Spectator,* by invitation. In spite of its being by invitation, it is not lacking in critical vigor. Paraphrasing the words of Pope Pius XI, it might be said that Mr. Williams combats error and resists his adversaries of the *Spectator* in such manner that the latter will know that he is prompted by rectitude and, above all, inspired by charity. . . . PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, by Ernest F. DuBrul, reviews how private ownership has been fast passing out of existence in America and falling into the hands of a few directorates. This analysis is based largely on the recent book by A. A. Berle and Gardiner C. Means of Columbia University. . . . SIMPLE LIVING, by William E. Cram, is written by a farmer who knows what living with nature is in fact.

tested by the literal application of any such rules. But while this danger of imposing unnecessary limitations upon the designers' scope should be discounted, the book in other respects has much of value and interest for those who hope for a continuation of our recent progress in ecclesiastical art.

It is often said that the efforts of professional architects are not alone sufficient to bring their art to its highest possible development. At least, it has most nearly approached perfection at times when the designers' efforts were shared by many and were received with sympathy and understanding by all. Our present methods of building do not permit as much sharing of artistic efforts as could be desired; but the quality of our present work would without doubt be improved if these efforts were received with a fuller understanding and sympathy by the general public. The book, then, has a value beyond that of a mere account and appraisal of the present state of church architecture. It is an attractive invitation which no doubt will lead many another priest to a continuation of this study, interesting to the individual and profitable to the Church; and it is a welcome example of that desirable attitude of sympathy on the part of the clergy which as it becomes more universal can add a further impetus toward the attainment of perfection in church architecture.

RAPHAEL HUME.

Uncle Sam's Demise

The Years of the Locust, by Gilbert Seldes. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. $3.00.

THE MYSTERIOUS demise of Uncle Sam would naturally demand public interest. People outside of his kinship would be equally interested with his own family to know whether his death was due to external or internal causes; whether it was suicide or murder or only natural and due to some poison spontaneously generated by his own fault. It would not matter that some people looked on the old gentleman as a benevolent bachelor uncle, or as a shocking old Shylock, or even as a soft-headed old victim of international "butterflies" and "vamps," panhandlers or racketeers. An interesting point in his family history would be that he was always in his lifetime the bachelor uncle; never a father.

With the news of his death came a great stirring among coroners, amateur and professional detectives and myriads of autopsy and post-mortem operators, till the poor old dead (or merely cataleptic) body is well nigh hacked to pieces.

Mr. Walter Lippman dissected scientifically. Mr. Gilbert Seldes reconstructs the crime (or whatever it was) like a good and thorough headquarters detective. He has recorded in this book, very faithfully and accurately, all the surface phenomena of those years 1929 to 1933 which saw poor old Uncle's heirs in "God's Country, the land of simple faith and buoyant optimism . . . turn sour, cynical, disbelieving and a little nasty. . . ."

Could it have been that they turned "a little nasty" because the heirs were nephews of the old man and not sons? No detective has touched that point yet.

Naturally, Mr. Seldes begins his reconstruction of the circumstances surrounding the tragedy in Wall Street. He describes the things happening there, the grave and owlish pronouncements of the medicine men, of the leaders in the Street and in Washington. He sketches in very carefully the reactions to their shibboleths throughout the states. Anyone who noticed disturbing symptoms ten years ago and sat with these same owlish pow-wow doctors at directors' board meetings in New York or with their colleagues in Washington ought to have expected what came from them in 1929 as a consequence of what they

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did in 1919. If those who saw them in private in the make-up rooms and from the wings, hesitated to believe their senses, it is not surprising that the uninitiated took ten years to "turn sour and a little nasty" about it. It is a good sign that it took only ten years to bring about the general revolt which Mr. Seldes (equally with this reviewer) classifies as a true revolution.

Mr. Seldes's description of the chief doctor, Herbert Hoover, seems very fair and probably as accurate as one might hope to make it without an inner knowledge of the man which nobody possesses who is at all likely to talk about it.

One of the confusions of thought which is most interesting during that period is the principle involved in relief measures: the Republican President insisting on the responsibilities of sovereign states; the states' rights Democrats insisting on the responsibility of the national government; the people discarding both and looking to the President, the ruler, the dictator.

Mr. Seldes gives also an excellent description of the series of events in Washington leading up to the eviction of the bonus army by federal troops. Even if one admits that, the situation having been mishandled from the beginning, the use of regular troops was the only way to avoid serious bloodshed, it is nevertheless true that "it was something . . . ominous in American history, and perhaps the most ominous circumstance was that most Americans were not aware of what had happened."

Mr. Seldes records, but does not stress, what seems to this reviewer to be one of the most important factors in this whole situation. He quotes Mr. Hoover, speaking of "the American system" he was defending, as "the product of our race." In another place (page 335) Mr. Seldes himself says: "It had been characteristic of many generations of Americans to believe that the world was born when they were born, that America had no past." That is a very serious reflection. It is the very point on which this reviewer has been long insistent. It is, of course, not true that our millions of new citizens have not brought much good to America, potentially and actually. It is positively true though, that through their mass immigration our continuity has been broken, to the great damage of our understanding of American institutions. It is no idle jest that poor dead (or cataleptic) "Uncle" Sam appears too often to have only nephews and no sons.

WILLIAM FRANKLIN SANDS.

Lincoln in Office

President Lincoln, by William E. Barton. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company. Two volumes, $7.50.

SOME fatality seems to lie in wait for those who attempt to write the story of Lincoln's Presidency. It will remain one of the great misfortunes of American historical writing that Beveridge had just got into the task when he was stricken; and Dr. Barton, whose many books are well known, likewise failed to live until he had completed the two volumes now published. Three chapters were written by William H. Townsend, and there are many places where rewriting or expansion seems called for. Yet the work as a whole has unity and value.

The magnificent, tear-stained epic of the Civil War can never cease to stir the imagination and prod the thinking of the nation. It offers so great a panorama of events that interpretations of it will necessarily be different, not merely because of divided allegiance but because judgment in retrospect of situations so complicated is inevitably tentative and personal. Mr. Barton's narrative is sober and factual. His business is to study Lincoln as a president—to observe his political maneuvers and his intellectual development rather than to measure the

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stature of his individuality. This task is undertaken so cautiously that one almost loses sight of the merely human and personal. Even the digressions, though valuable, usually fail to evoke the concrete reality in which the reader of history is deeply interested. Thus Dr. Barton goes into considerable detail with McClellan, but it would be difficult to imagine a literary portrait more devoid of life. The impression given ultimately is that these volumes offer a kind of framework which the author had intended to fill in later on.

As it stands, the work is breezily and speedily written. Volume One, by all odds the better and more rounded of the two, outlines the presidential campaign, the election and the taking of office. It is a useful compilation of essential materials, but it is far from being the profound, many-sided, searching analysis of events which Beveridge would doubtless have provided. Volume Two is mostly taken up with the military campaigns which led eventually to the defeat of the Confederacy. It is a lucid and easily digested chronicle but that is all. The verdicts on generals and politicians are often terse and emphatic enough to border upon being generalizations, though in the main they follow modern historical scholarship. As a whole the work is probably better adapted to library purposes than to the use of the discriminating and exacting reader.

GEORGE N. SHUSTER.

Except Faith

Henry Adams, by James Truslow Adams. New York: Albert and Charles Boni. $2.50.

YOU FEEL, as you get to know Henry Adams through his writings, the famous "Education" and the equally famous "Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres," that what he calls his failure, failure in power, in worldly emoluments, and in "keeping up with the Adamses," was not failure at all. But there was a certain failure in his inner life. For there was a failure in intellectual reintegration. How happily he caught the spirit of the twelfth and the thirteenth centuries in "Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres"! But after that, since he did not have the faith to see how his synthesis of mediaevalism, an already-lived synthesis, could be helpful to himself, he attempted to justify life as he lived it, the life of the twentieth century. Admittedly one of the hardest tasks that a sincere mind, without roots, like Adams's could propose to itself. The result was "The Education," which is the attempt to fuse mechanical science and materialism into an ethic for the American. "The Education" bogs down as an integration of modern creeds, although it is successful as a work of great autobiographical literature.

Thus Henry Adams, for all his mental fineness and fastidiousness before life, an insatiable and intelligent traveler, a philosophic mind, a wit, and a profound student of history, came up against the stone wall of mechanistic faithlessness and found, after many years of butting his head against it, that he could not get through. He had everything that life could offer in the way of distinction, except faith.

James Truslow Adams, in this admirable sketch which, save for the depression, was to have served as an introduction to Henry's works, more than hints that the trouble was sensed by him at the last. For Henry ended up in a sort of Stoicism, while almost debating whether he should turn Christian. Outside of these two, Stoicism and Christianity, he felt—and here was a man who had sat under the Bo-Tree, traveled in Ceylon, Japan, Tahiti, Samoa, throughout Europe and Asia Minor and wherenot—there was nothing else.

JAMES W. LANE.

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Briefer Mention

Emily Dickinson: Face to Face, by Martha Dickinson Bianchi. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.50.

FOR YEARS, so we are told in the introduction to this book, the thought that a life of Emily Dickinson could be sold to the public was considered preposterous both by the family and the publishers of her work. But suddenly at least two independent writers proved that the thing could be done. Accordingly Mrs. Bianchi offers a belated but none the less welcome memoir of her aunt, in the obvious hope of combating "erroneous conclusions" to which persons "unbeknown to the family" have arrived in print. The book is calculated to make the life of "elusive Emily" seem far less tragic and beset with complexes than Miss Taggard, for instance, believed that it had been. We are shown a little old maid, in whom poetic fire genuinely blazed, neatly captured between the affections of a large and varied household. The love affair is also disposed of to the satisfaction, one thinks, of all but the incurably romantic. By way of documentary evidence there is offered a sheaf of unpublished notes and letters to "Sister Sue," which seem to resemble nothing so much as a necklace of brilliants scattered recklessly over a floor. And one concludes that nothing in life is more mysterious than poetry. Emily Dickinson concealed its relations with daily existence, even as others have. But does it really matter?

Last Poems, by D. H. Lawrence, edited by Guiseppe Orioli and Richard Aldington. New York: The Viking Press. $3.00.

WHEN Lawrence died, he left two manuscript books from which the present editors have copied 273 poems. Lyrics which the author himself had published are, with a few unimportant exceptions, omitted. What we are given, therefore, is a kind of final verse journal, distinguished for spontaneity rather than art. Nothing could be farther removed from Valéry's conception of the poet's craft than this series of almost ejaculatory stanzas, in which the only complexity encountered is that created by inchoate symbols. And yet the book will interest anyone inclined to be even a half-hearted listener to Lawrence. Striking is the fact that many of these poems would need little alteration to become first-class editorials. Thus "Broadcasting to the G.P.B." is a trenchant satirical attack upon censorship, and "We Die Together" is pretty effective social criticism. Even that side of Lawrence which had a kinship with Blake seems to express itself editorially in these poems, "Demiurge" for example being much more like a paragraph than a sonnet. For these and other reasons one is reminded of Whitman.

Three Novels of Love, by John Galsworthy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.50.

THERE is some danger lest Galsworthy's other work should be buried under the weight of the "Forsyte Saga." It may be that some of the lesser novels are now not quite "actual," but the three novels grouped in the present volume still retain a genuine charm and a marked power over the reader. Perhaps "The Dark Flower" is burdened with a theme no longer exciting. Nor is the Reverend Mr. Pierson of "Saint's Progress" as he used to appear to be. Even the ideas set forth in "Beyond" seem somehow as dated as its war-time flapper heroine. Nevertheless there are deft characterizations, scraps of moral insight and other good things to compensate for the effects of time. It need scarce be added that the price of this book makes it a kind of bargain.

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American and Canadian Hospitals; edited by James Clark Fifield with the coöperation of the American Hospital Association. Minneapolis: Midwest Publishers Company. $10.00.

THE SUB-TITLE declares this to be "a reference book giving historical, statistical and other information on the hospitals and allied institutions of the United States and Possessions, and the Dominion of Canada." The statistical information includes the rates for rooms and wards and the usual charges for various hospital services; also the income and disbursements of the hospitals, the number of patients taken care of, free hospital services, outpatient cases and the extent of the hospital staff. There are additional matters in the appendix, as for instance an article on the Catholic Sisterhoods in the hospital field by the Reverend Alphonse M. Schwitalla, S.J., and information on the important endowments and funds for health purposes. This is a large reference book of over fifteen hundred pages that will have many practical uses. It has been well made.

Lead Kindly Light, by the Reverend Desmond Morse-Boycott. New York: The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE SUB-TITLE of this book is "Studies of the Saints and Heroes of the Oxford Movement." It might, perhaps, be better defined as a series of brief, inspirational essays on twenty-one personages who are in one way or another ancestors of modern Anglo-Catholicism, the extreme right wing of which is represented by the author. We may appropriately be grateful to him for as sympathetic and worth-while a comment on Manning as has been written during many a year, but the best things in the book are doubtless the essays on Isaac Williams and Robert Radclyffe Dolling. Of course there is a mild patter of pebbles flung at the Rock of Peter. These the reader must expect and forgive. Were it not for them, there would be no Anglo-Catholicism.

Marriage, by Ernest R. Groves. New York: Henry Holt and Company. $3.50.

THIS book, published in the American Social Science Series, is a frank and from many points of view able treatment of sex relationships. It stresses in particular the importance of psychological adjustments between husband and wife, and has a very good chapter on courtship. Unfortunately Professor Groves is miles removed from anything like a Catholic view of the problem, though he courteously states the view of the Church upon occasion.

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